Daily Report

East Europe

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GDR's Hoffmann: NATO Must Also Disarm

AU0212151789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Nov 89 p 5

[ADN report: "GDR Defense Minister: NATO Should Also Disarm"]

[Text] Budapest—The defense ministers of the Warsaw Pact states attach great importance to constructive dialogue with NATO. The communique—which was published in Budapest on Wednesday [29 November] at the conclusion of the meeting of the Committee of Defense Ministers—stressed that, despite all positive changes in East-West relations, no fundamental changes have been achieved in the field of disarmament to date.

In a talk with Hungarian and GDR journalists, Defense Minister Admiral Theodor Hoffmann said in Budapest that the talks focused on the further implementation of the military doctrine aimed at preserving peace. It is high time for NATO to provide clear practical answers to the socialist states' unilateral disarmament steps, the minister asserted.

Referring to changes in the GDR, the minister pointed out that the National People's Army is studying the experiences of the other socialist countries' armies. As far as the military reform which has just been initiated in the GDR is concerned, special emphasis must be put on newly shaping the relations between the people and the Army, Defense Minister Hoffmann concluded.

Borsits Attends Pact Meeting in Moscow

LD1112190189 Budapest MTI in English 1807 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 11 (MTI)—The chiefs of staff of the Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty member states met in Moscow on December 11. They discussed preparations for the Vienna talks on confidence- and security-building measures in Europe to take place from January 11 to February 5, and for a simultaneous seminar on military doctrines. The Hungarian People's Army was represented by Lieutenant General Laszlo Borsits, chief of staff.

Comparisons of Pact Defense Ministers Communique

Bucharest SCINTEIA 1 Dec Version

AU0512171389

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 1 December in its Morning Edition on page 5 carries the communique issued by the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers' Committee Session, which met in Budapest on 27-29 November. The IZVESTIYA report, entitled "Communique of the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers' Committee Session," published in the 1 December Soviet Union DAILY REPORT on pages 4 and 5, has been compared to the Bucharest SCINTEIA Romanian version published on 1 December, page 5, revealing the two versions to be identical, apart from the order in which the name of the participating countries are listed in paragraph two of the communique, which is in accordance with the Romanian alphabet.

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO 1 Dec Version

AU0412142489

Comparison of the Moscow IZVESTIYA Russian 1 December version with the Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO Bulgarian version published on 1 December on page 6 reveals that the two versions are identical.

Bloc Countries Seek Middle East Oil

LD0412154389 Vienna OPECNA in English 1505 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Tokyo, 4 Dec. 89 (OPECNA)—Eastern bloc countries are looking more and more to the Middle East for their oil supplies as a result of dwindling crude production in the Soviet Union.

According to Japanese industry sources, Soviet oil exports to the West have slumped by 15 per cent over last year, while Eastern Europe is turning to Middle Eastern countries for supplies.

Oil market analysts believe that crude oil prices may surge in the future.

The Soviet Union's current oil production has been put at 12 million b/d, 500,000 b/d less than last year's while exports to the West are said to have fallen by 300,000 b/d.

Last year, Moscow increased exports of oil and petrochemicals to Western countries to 1.9 million b/d to secure much-needed foreign exchange.

The sources said that domestic strikes by coal-miners and railroad workers, coupled with declining supplies of nuclear- generated electricity, could lead to the doubling up of present USSR oil consumption.

ILO Condemns Romania for Labor Policy

AU2411180689 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 Nov 89 p 3

[MTI report: "The ILO Condemned the Romanian Practice"]

[Text] At its meeting in Geneva on 15 November, the leading body of the world's oldest and largest professional organization, the board of directors of the International Labor Organization [ILO], condemned the Romanian employment policy which discriminates against the national minorities.

A complaint was filed by thirteen representatives of the workers' department of this body, and the ILO has been dealing with the issue for several months. The complaint carries concrete facts to demonstrate the Romanians' discriminatory practice. The board found the Romanians' official reply insufficient. The board has now decided to send an independent committee made up of impartial experts; the task of this committee will be to study the situation and prepare a report for the board. During the debate on the complaint, the representatives of some socialist countries, like China, the CSSR, and Cuba, tried to present the Romanian position as constructive and ready for a dialogue. The Soviet and the GDR delegations did not participate in the debate.

In his address, Jozsef Timmer, the Hungarian member of the board, urged the establishment of an investigating committee.

Romania rejected the decision which was made unanimously by the board. Romania accused Hungary, saying that Hungary and certain organizations are behind the "anti-Romanian political actions." At the protest of the Hungarian delegate, the Australian chairman of the board withdrew the floor from the Romanian ambassador.

It is expected that the committee of experts will carry out its task and will prepare a report, irrespective of whether the committee is allowed into Romania or not. This decision of the board is a noteworthy development of great interest for international public opinion, and its importance is similar to the decision of the UN Human Rights Committee of March 1989 which condemns Romania.

Cooperation Talks With EFTA Open in Geneva

LD2211102289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2203 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Geneva, Nov 21 (TANJUG)—A new phase in relations between Yugoslavia and the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) opened in Geneva today after an EFTA task force approved nearly all initiatives for promoting mutual cooperation, proposed by the government of Prime Minister Ante Markovic.

During the two-day session, representatives of the six EFTA member-countries who composed the task force discussed measures envisaging for a promotion of trade. Consequently, talks are to open shortly on cooperation in the fields of finance, tourism, joint ventures and the industry.

An agreement on free trade between Yugoslavia and (?EFTA would) be signed at the close of this second phase of cooperation between Yugoslavia and the grouping which comprises Austria, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland.

This shall be discussed at an EFTA ministerial conference in Geneva in early December, at which a decision to form a special fund of EFTA for Yugoslavia is also expected to be initialled. Talks will continue in the late February of 1990 in Belgrade, at a session of the Yugoslavia-EFTA Joint Council.

Yugoslavia has encountered an obstacle to a more comprehensive cooperation with the European six in the form of spiralling inflation which threatens to exceed an annual rate of 2,000 percent by the end of 1989. Measures to reform the Yugoslav economy cannot be carried out in conditions of this high inflation, EFTA representatives maintain.

Mazowiecki, Czyrek, Rakowski Meet SIDAC Group

LD1611044789 Warsaw PAP in English 2221 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 15—Members of the Council of the Socialist International for Disarmament, SIDAC, with its chairman and leader of Finland's Parliament Kalevi Sorsa, have arrived for a two-day visit in Poland on the invitation of President Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The delegation also includes representatives of the Finnish Social Democratic Party, the Danish Social-Democratic Party, the British Labour Party, the Italian Socialist Party, Japan's Social Democratic Federation, the Senegal Socialist Party, the Dutch Labour Party, the Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland, the Socialist Party of Austria, and FRG's Social Democratic Party of Germany.

On the first day of visit members of the council were received by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Minister of State Jozef Czyrek. During the talks both delegations discussed questions of disarmament and security in Europe. The guests were also interested in Poland's internal situation.

The Council members were also received by PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski.

General Staff Meets SIDAC Members

LD1711222289 Warsaw PAP in English 2050 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 17—Representatives of the Polish Army's General Staff today met with members of the Socialist International's Council for Disarmament (SIDAC) who are now in Poland at the invitation from the Polish president.

During the meeting, first deputy of the Polish Army's chief of General Staff Gen. Henryk Szumski told SIDAC members about the assumptions of the Polish defensive war doctrine and structural changes in Polish Armed Forces related to this.

Jaruzelski Addresses Delegation

AU2111143789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Nov 89 pp 1, 2

[Text] PAP—President Wojciech Jaruzelski received members of the Socialist International Disarmament Council (SIDAC), headed by its chairman, Kalevi Sersa, at the Belvedere on 16 November. The delegation is visiting Poland at the president's invitation.

This visit is taking place at an exceptionally important and interesting time for Poland and Europe, said W. Jaruzelski. A new platform for rational debates between various sociopolitical forces is being formed, and new horizons of East-West cooperation in every sphere—political, economic, social, and cultural—are appearing. Naturally, this is enhancing disarmament processes on our continent. In turn, these processes are expanding dialogue and peaceful contacts between European states. We respect the Socialist International's activity for the sake of peace, and we value the intellectual and political achievements of its Disarmament Council, including K. Sorsa's personal contribution.

This is the first time members of our Council have visited eastern Europe since the Council was created 10 years ago, said K. Sorsa. This visit coincides with the surprising and noteworthy changes in Poland and the whole of Europe. I think that a great intellectual revolution is taking shape once again, and a certain era of postwar Europe is ending. Tendencies that express a desire to live in a common safe continent are becoming dominant. Now that the era of walls is ending, it is also necessary to fill in the trenches. All drastic changes involve certain dangers, but it is worth taking the risk. Enhancing disarmament processes is one of the key ways to safeguard Europe against these dangers. It is necessary to create new security measures and transform existing military doctrines. The Socialist International is firmly in favor of reducing all types of weapons, nuclear and conventional. In this regard, we recognize the Jaruzelski Plan to reduce armaments and increase confidence in central Europe as one of the important factors that have served to increase disarmament dialogue, concluded K. Sorsa.

Further on in the meeting, W. Jaruzelski answered numerous questions from the guests about current problems of Polish domestic and foreign policy.

Replying to questions on the subject of our country's domestic affairs, W. Jaruzelski said that major changes are occurring in Poland. It is easy to see how many of the solutions that are currently being implemented are considered by Western socialists to be normal and greatly desired. They have many interesting ideas on ways of reducing the burden of a market economy that permit high economic efficiency to be reconciled with social justice.

Referring to the latest events in the GDR, W. Jaruzelski said that Polish public opinion welcomes the changes taking place to our Western neighbor, friend, and ally. They are of historic significance, and we expect them to strengthen, not weaken, the GDR's sovereign international position. Nothing that is going on between the Odra and Rhine Rivers is escaping our attention. If fears and concern are being expressed in Poland today, they apply to the possible development of the situation, which might get out of hand and threaten the continent with destabilization. We believe that every nation's right to self-determination is objective and universal. However, the sum total of past and present experience tells us to watch over the European dimension of the processes taking place in the two German states. That part of this process that concerns Europe must be a subject of interest by all Europeans. We wish the Germans in both

countries all the best, but we also desire for Poland the right external conditions for its security and development.

Answering further questions about international problems, W. Jaruzelski said that we view the European processes with great hope, but at the same time we do not want them to cause harm to anyone, nor disturb the political balance.

Since the Helsinki conference, mechanisms have taken shape which permit an easing of the tension and the formation of a material and psychological basis for peace. Despite the various pitfalls and disruptions, the 15 years that have elapsed since that conference have brought much good to Europe collectively and each country individually. The letter and spirit of Helsinki arose out of a desire to tear down the barriers that separate the two parts of Europe. Even though the "new thinking" has begun to emerge victorious in recent years, there is still a lot left of the old thinking in terms of "blocs." One can feel with increasing intensity the absence of a Europe-wide institution to promote peace and cooperation. We need a new international "savoir vivre" [French expression used], in accordance with the spirit of the times.

Perhaps the situation has matured enough for us to think about a kind of "European Constitution" containing what is already worthy of perpetuation and laying down the basis of a new European order. We have in mind Mikhail Gorbachev's idea, which he formulated during his Warsaw visit, of setting up a center which would be responsible for a complete and equal carrying out of arms reduction and stabilization measures, and which would encourage consultations and exchanges of information in order to prevent conflicts in Europe.

I would also like to recall that the Soviet Union, Poland, and other Warsaw Pact countries have put forth many initiatives and modified their approach toward ways of safeguarding national security, toward relations with NATO, and toward the military factor of international relations. These changes have been reliably confirmed in the unilateral reductions in the number of soldiers and weapons. In 1989, Poland will have reduced the size of its armed forces by 33,000 men, 400 tanks, 600 armored transports, 700 mortars and cannon, and 80 combat aircraft. In 1990 there should be further rational reductions to match the situation. We also perceive progress in the Vienna talks. We hope that a compromise will also be found in matters that are still controversial.

We are also in favor of further steps toward a permanent stabilization of the military situation in Europe. They include the following undertakings:

—A consistent aim toward reaching an accord in Vienna as quickly as possible, mindful of the difficult organizational, technical, material, social, and even psychological problems;
—A conversion of the existing military structures into purely defensive ones;
—A reduction in existing tactical weapons arsenals in Europe;
—A further expansion of security and confidence-building measures within the CSCE framework;
—An extension of confidence-building measures to include naval forces (it would be good to begin this process with the steps described in the May 1989 joint statement of the Polish United Workers Party and Social Democratic Party of Germany concerning confidence-building measures in the Baltic).

To sum up, our disarmament thinking is aimed at thinning out the most dangerous area and heaviest buildup of conventional weapons on both sides of the Elbe River, which until recently was considered to be the frontier of confrontation. The further east and west of the Elbe one succeeds in removing offensive resources and military forces, the greater the likelihood that as time goes by this area will be turned into a sphere of security containing only an essential defense potential, but no forces and resources which both sides consider to be offensive.

Chamber of Commerce Official on Trade Increases

AU1412123389 Tirana ATA in English 1121 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Tirana, December 14 (ATA)—In an interview about the border trade conducted by Albania, Simon Poradeci, deputy chairman of the Chamber of Commerce of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, stresses among others that nearly 2 years ago two enterprises of foreign trade were erected, Gjirokaster Sterimpex and Durres Impex. Enterprises of the kind were erected also in the districts of Shkoder, Kukes, Pogradec, Korce, and Sarande, making possible the border trade in Albania.

The seven enterprises of foreign trade raised in these districts are now conducting a broad scale of activities with various firms of the zones bordering our country, as with those of Greece, Yugoslavia, and Italy. They sign and apply buying and selling contracts for home-made export-import goods and for the excess of these districts themselves exploiting their economic resources. Among these goods one might mention cement, building stone and marble, medical herbs, sea and agricultural productions, cognac, handicraft productions, carpets and rugs, etc.

Rise of Terrorism in East Europe Predicted

AU1312201989 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 8 Dec 89 p 4

[Genc Kondi article: "'Hotbed' of Extremisms"]

[Text] The FRG media reported last week that the general director of the Deutsche Bank lost his life as a result of a terrorist assassination. The Deutsche Bank is not only the largest in the FRG, but is also a kind of symbol of the country's economic system. The investigator entrusted with the inquiry announced that Alfred Herrhausen was without a doubt a victim of the "Red Army Faction" terrorist group. His assassination provoked a variety of responses. In the past members of this terrorist group have also attacked symbols of the West German business world. Nevertheless, many people were surprised, knowing that the phenomenon of terrorism had been severely cut back by the police; others imagined that it had been relegated to the history of crime once and for all.

In fact, this is not quite the case. It is true that police activity in a number of Western European countries has hit hard against terrorism, but eliminating such a phenomenon in society means eliminating its roots, which are in the social system that gives rise to it, and capitalism. Inequality, oppression, and systematic discrimination inevitably lead to revolt, which is in some cases expressed in debased and blind ways, without any clear objective. Terrorism, especially that called "leftist," is such a phenomenon. It is nothing but a distortion of the struggle of the masses of the people against the omnipotent sway of the bourgeoisie, using means and methods which do not lead to practical results, but merely create a sensation. Organizations such as the "Red Army Faction," "The Red Brigade" in Italy, and the "Militant Communist Cells" in France subscribe to such methods.

There has been an extraordinary growth in terrorism since World War II. During the seventies and eighties, surveys among citizens of Western European countries indicated terrorism to be their greatest concern. It is in the interest of the bourgeoisie themselves to have this phenomenon present in the pattern of society, both in order to discredit the revolutionary movement, and so that they can settle various kinds of "dirty business" without soiling their own hands, as in indicated by their use of the Mafia, and so forth.

We can now assert that this terrorist action in the FRG is a prelude to the revival of "leftist" terrorism and the spectacular outbreak of a new wave of such activity. History provides us with the justification for reaching such a conclusion. Ultra-leftist extremism, anarchism, and petit bourgeois adventurism have been a kind of tax paid by the revolutionary movement whenever it has been dominated by reformism. Thus, "leftist" terrorism became extremely active at the precise moment when, in the sixties, the revisionist treachery of the communist parties in the old world created a confusion of objectives in the revolutionary movement.

We are at a similarly critical moment today. It has been clear to Marxist-Leninist forces that socialism is not being built in the countries of East Europe, and that parties in these countries are "communist" and "socialist" only in name. However, this is not equally clear to many other forces in Europe, who have been deceived by the revisionists' catch phrases. The overt conversion of the parties of the East to the capitalist system on a typically Western basis and superstructure has created new confusion for those who consider the removal of capitalism from the historical stage to be a positive development. Under such conditions, when the "communist" parties in the West are also shedding their masks, there will no doubt be further outbreaks of extremism.

However, extremism comes in many varieties, not merely "leftist." There has recently been a spectacular strengthening of the positions of rightist extremism in the Western European political spectrum. The so-called "Black International," a grouping of neofascist forces, has been winning more votes in the European Parliament and, for example, in the FRG, where it is supported by about nine percent of the electorate. Moreover, in Hungary, too, the fascist party in this country has submitted a demand to parliament for its legalization in the context of permitted political pluralism!

Negative developments in events in East Europe have created and will continue to create a range of problems. They will also become a "hotbed" for the exacerbation of the problem of political extremism, which may return to

the political stage with more considerable strength than before. This will not be the greatest evil to come from such a course of events.

Outcome of Malta Meeting Viewed

AU1312132589 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 5 Dec 89 p 4

[Shaban Murati article: "The Bush-Gorbachev Meeting: Talks About Europe, but at its Expense"]

[Text] An unscheduled, high-level meeting took place on 2-3 December in Malta between U.S. President George Bush and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. At a joint press conference held aboard the Soviet warship "Maksim Gorkiy," the two leaders enumerated a number of major problems that had been discussed: the evolution of the situation in Europe and the world; the problem of weapons and the Geneva and Vienna talks; local conflicts; bilateral economic relations; and so forth. The two leaders covered the entire series of issues being negotiated by them. They also decided to have a high-level meeting in June of next year in America and promised that they would attempt to reach an agreement on strategic weapons and on the reduction of conventional Soviet and American forces in Europe during 1990.

The Malta meeting was held despite the fact that Bush and Gorbachev had already agreed to hold a high-level meeting in Washington next spring. The Malta meeting was affected by the progress in the START agreement talks, or by the latest events in El Salvador or Lebanon. The decision to hold the meeting was made quickly, as was the convening of the meeting itself, in order to discuss a special theme—that is, the latest events in East Europe and, in this context, all of the U.S. and Soviet policies and strategies concerning the European continent. The Malta talks centered on Europe, its relations, developments, and future, and were held in the bipolar club of the superpowers, in the absence of Europe itself. It is true that while in Rome, during his visit to Italy, Gorbachev did propose an all-European summit—a Helsinki Two—but the proposal sounded more like an attempt to impose on the European countries the results of the positions and strategies reached by the two superpowers at bilateral meetings. It is quite astonishing that while the superpowers admitted that Europe would be the main topic of discussion at the Malta talks, and while it has been stated that Malta marks a watershed in the postwar period and that negative aspects of the postwar structure of the world are being overcome, nothing of substance was said about the discussions themselves or about the decisions adopted—the give and take—and what was coordinated by both sides concerning the European continent and its problems. REUTERS stated on 4 December that "The changes in East Europe were the basis of the meeting, but neither Bush nor Gorbachev gave any details about their discussions on this subject."

Events in East Europe, where the bourgeoisie and the opportunists are striving, by applying the same strategies and tactics, to erase socialism as a social order, and where power was handed over to the most reactionary anticommunist forces by the revisionist parties, which carried out their counterrevolutionary mission to the end, have created new problems pertaining to the relations between the superpowers, their policies in Europe, the military-political blocs that they lead, and so forth. As Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed in his speech at the Eighth Albanian Workers Party Central Committee plenum: "The development of the international situation and the growing opportunism deriving from the revisionist betrayal have brought about changes in the balance of forces which affects relations between states, alliances, and military blocs, as well as the balances established in one area or another."

It is given these circumstances that the superpowers conceived of and held their unscheduled meeting in Malta in order to tackle the problems of Europe and ensure that all these developments effect neither their interests as superpowers nor their designs on our continent. The preservation of their mutual spheres of influence remains the essence of the European policy of the United States of America and the Soviet Union. It is on this basis that their previous high-level talks were held. However, events in East Europe and other areas of the world have brought about new problems, which the superpowers wish to preempt and keep under control. Their basic objective is to ensure that the domestic processes in the various European countries do not effect the existence of their respective spheres of influence and the military-political blocs that they lead in Europe. The United States and the Soviet Union are striving to keep these internal processes under control, so that they do not reach the point where they challenge their control and domination of Europe. It is in this context that European problems were discussed at Malta and President George Bush made this clear at the press conference held on 3 December, when he stated that "any changes in Europe and the world must have Soviet-American relations as their instrument." This is a well-known policy of the superpowers, applying various forms of interference in the domestic affairs of others in order to impose their control over the internal affairs of various countries. The Malta meeting and the discussion of European problems aboard American and Soviet warships deployed in the Mediterranean is a reflection of this imposition and an open show of force by the superpowers toward not only Europe but other countries of the world as well.

The United States and the Soviet Union have supported the reformist processes and the entire wave of counterrevolutionary reformism in the countries of East Europe. For the global policies and large-scale strategies of the Soviet Union and the United States, it is of no importance what name a country takes, what label it assumes, or whether one political force or another assumes power as long as it does not debate its allegiance or existence of the superpowers' blocs. On 1 December, Gorbachev openly declared that the problem regards a new shape to the existing organizations in Europe, NATO, and the

Warsaw Pact. This confirmation of the preservation and strengthening of the two blocs, applying a kind of perestroyka and transforming them into "political-military" blocs, also means the preservation of each superpower's sphere of influence. Under the new international conditions and the conditions in Europe created in recent months, the Malta meeting is a confirmation of the strategic interests of the superpowers on our continent. The two superpowers, during and after Malta, are seeking to coordinate their European policies, so that nothing may happen in Europe that will conflict with their presence and importance on the continent. This also leads them to unite and act together against European interests. Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gerasimov, in talking about the Malta meeting, stated that "important practical steps may be taken toward a solution of the problems of Europe," and that "Bush and Gorbachev are using the meeting to determine common standpoints on current problems in Europe."

The examination of European problems at the Malta meeting within the context of the superpowers' strategic issues disturbs the peoples of European countries. Europe was absent from Malta, just as it has been absent from other such summits. However, now that the problems of Europe are at the very center of the secret Bush-Gorbachev talks, the superpowers' challenge to Europe has become more open and flagrant. Concern over this U.S.-Soviet parleying over Europe has, therefore, been increasing. The summit meeting of EEC countries in Paris on 18 November was an expression of this concern. "This meeting," the European press wrote recently, "is a sign that the community of Europe has no intention of leaving the quest for a new equilibrium and its future outlines to the condominium of the two superpowers." At the same time, the European press has written at length about the fear of European countries; that the Malta meeting could once again change the map of Europe at Europe's expense. Bush and Gorbachev have attempted to provide reassurance, and both of them called summit meetings of the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries for 4 December in order to "inform" them of their meeting. These meetings did not so much inform as represent a fact confirming the continuity of the blocs in Europe and their management by the superpowers.

Despite all the publicity surrounding the Malta summit, it remains an act that is indicative of the superpowers' manipulation of international problems. The situation is fraught with danger, which the United States and the Soviet Union are attempting to conceal behind slogans of detente and bringing peace to the world. It is a situation that makes the vigilance of the peoples, confronted with the intrigues of the superpowers' secret diplomacy, more necessary than ever, and which calls for realism to face up to illusions, and determined action in defense of freedom, independence, and national sovereignty.

Students Demonstrate in Front of Parliament

AU1412153689 Sofia BTA in English
1516 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 14 (BTA)—Several thousands of students demonstrated before the National Assembly, right before its session opened, demanding for dismissing of parliament and resignation of government, with cries for democracy and freedom.

They raised slogans for free elections and a new major law for abolishing Article 1 of the Constitution.

"There have been enough plenums and demagoguery, we want laws without ideology, " one of the slogans said.

The students also insisted for autonomy of universities and higher institutes.

'Birthday Party' of Democracy at Parliament

AU1412135689 Sofia BTA in English
1250 GMT 14 Dec 89

["Sofia Tea Party Moves to Parliament"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 14 (BTA commentator Valeri Naydenov)—There is a birthday party at the Bulgarian Parliament today: this country's democracy is due to be born.

After an angry burial of Todor Zhivkov's gerontocracy at its last session less than a month ago, the National Assembly starts today with a more festive agenda: free and competitive elections within six months are expected to be scheduled, and to start the procedure for the constitutional texts that guarantee party monopoly to be repealed.

"Our party does not need a law to guarantee its leading role. It is the people who decide," said the country's 53-year-old leader Petur Mladenov at a rally here yesterday evening. The applause, all over the country, is still going on.

Two days earlier the party's leading body discussed abolishing the monopoly article from the Constitution by the end of next year. But as crowds stood on silent vigil with burning candles by the party headquarters and rallies everywhere called for more, the plenum decided to steal the show.

And it certainly has. Yesterday's gloomy intellectuals are smiling, angry students are grinning and everybody else is showing all thirty-two as people gather again this morning on "the yellow brick road," Sofia's center.

The other items on Parliament's agenda are of less consequence now as they will fix rights that people exploit freely already—laws on rallies and on "informal" organizations. A nice precaution will be the removal of certain texts from the Penal Code that make outspoken critics feel uneasy.

There is a darker side to the national high. What everybody knew has now been said: Things will get worse but will not get any better soon for Bulgaria's ailing economy. Heavy hard currency debt burden, aged and overweight industry, a business code of moving paper fantasies and more can match any other economic mess east of the Wall.

The good news is that the party has pledged to freeze prices on basic commodities next year and draft a stabilization program by January, cut all luxury spending and introduce matter-of-fact reforms that will help people help themselves. Hard working habits are so deep rooted in the national character by centuries of heavy toil, that recent resignation has not changed them altogether. So the people feel they can pull through with a little help from their friends. So does the country, and it hopes to make new friends too.

Petition on Rehabilitation Presented

AU1412135989 Sofia BTA in English
1238 GMT 14 Dec 89

["Petition by the Committee of Repressed"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 14 (BTA)—To proclaim officially December 16 the day when the distinguished BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] leader Traycho Kostov was executed for a national day of the victims and those repressed by Stalinism, appeals the Civic Committee for complete rehabilitation of the Bulgarian nationals repressed in the USSR during the 30's and 40's and in Bulgaria during the 1949-1956 period and the 1956-1989 period.

In a petition to the National Assembly which starts its session today the committee also proposes to start the construction of a memorial in memory of the Bulgarian citizens who perished or were repressed in Bulgaria and in the Soviet Union; to pay indemnities, as soon as possible, to those repressed; other measures for complete rehabilitation of all Bulgarian citizens who have been repressed.

The committee expresses support to the restructuring and insists on the publication of the protocols of the April plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP in 1956. It requests parliamentary investigation of the crimes of the ex-secretary general of the party and his crew in the party and in the state.

National Assembly Starts New Session

AU1412142189 Sofia BTA in English
1344 GMT 14 Dec 89

["Session of the Bulgarian Parliament Broadens Democracy"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 14 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Parliament opened today with the most democratic agenda in the latest history of this country. It is expected that the

Parliament will appoint free elections within the next six months and will discuss a proposal for removing from the Constitution the texts which guarantee the political monopoly of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

Three days back such a step seemed impossible, but the plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] which closed yesterday thoroughly changed the notions about what is possible to happen on the Bulgarian political stage. Other items of the agenda envisage the adoption of laws about the rallies and the independent [word indistinct], in the texts restricting the right to criticize the state.

12th Session Continues

AU1412145689 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] [Announcer] We return now to the reporters' room at the National Assembly, where Yasen Indzhev reports the following:

[Indzhev] The unanimity is over. With these words Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, proposed to the National Assembly deputies to elect observers to oversee the voting on individual issues. Six observers were elected, after which the operational work of the session on the already adopted agenda began.

The work began with item one of the agenda on adopting normative decrees issued between the 10th and 12th sessions, namely between May and November 1989.

Ginyu Ganev read the stand of the Legislative Commission and of the Social Interests and Citizens' Rights Commission on 18 decrees issued during that period. I will not inform you about them because many of the addenda have purely legal aspects. However, Ginyu Ganev, on behalf of the commission and on behalf of other permanent commissions, proposed that three decrees issued during the period between May and November should not be adopted by the National Assembly deputies: namely, the addendum and amendment to the Law on Cultural Monuments, the Decree on Citizens' Mobilization in Times of Peace, and the addendum on the Public Health Law.

This was specified more thoroughly, after which there were statements. Six deputies have taken the floor so far. Milena Stamboliyska made a statement. Among other things, she made the statement that the parliamentary group of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union has also submitted a proposal on amending Paragraphs 2 and 3 of Article 1 of the Constitution. Let us hear what Milena Stamboliyska is saying now:

[Begin Stamboliyska recording, in progress] ...Dimitur Gichev and all of the agrarian leaders in the country and outside the country who have been convicted or were repressed following 1947 for their political convictions and ideas. We think that on the basis of the factual material that will be collected, they will be politically and legally rehabilitated.

Comrades, let us now talk about the problem at issue. We are all witnesses to the crisis situation in which Bulgarian villages and agriculture are involved. We have mentioned this fact on several occasions here, at the National Assembly. The parliamentary group of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union proposes establishing a permanent commission in the National Assembly in charge of the Bulgarian villages. It is unnecessary for me to explain its urgency. We propose that this commission should be approved as early as at the next session and that it should begin its work at once. The first task of this commission should be to work out a draft law on the land and on land ownership that should be submitted for nationwide discussion. Thank you. [end recording]

Introductory Statement

au1412143389 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Introductory statement by Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, at the opening of the 12th session of the National Assembly, in Sofia on 14 December—live]

[Text] Because we have the required number of National Assembly deputies in attendance, we can begin our work.

Before dealing with the questions that we will cover in the 12th session of the National Assembly, I would like you to devote a minute of silence to the memory of the deceased Kamen Ivanov Kamenov, National Assembly deputy of the 72d electoral district and deputy chairman of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union Supreme Council, a distinguished political and public figure and a member of the Legislative Commission.

I propose that the following issues be included in the agenda of the present session:

1. The adoption of normative decrees submitted between the 10th and 12th National Assembly sessions.

2. The proposal on changes in the composition of the National Assembly's leadership.

3. The proposal on changes in the composition of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

4. The proposal on changes in the Council of Ministers composition.

5. The proposal on discussing the draft law on the country's 1990 budget.

6. The proposal on the release of the chief prosecutor and the election of a new one.

7. The proposal on the election of chairmen and deputy chairmen of permanent commissions of the National Assembly and on changes in their composition.

8. The proposal on electing a permanent National Assembly Commission on questions of defense, and determining its composition.

9. The proposal on changes in the composition of the commission in charge of preparing a new, draft constitution for the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

10. The proposal on reducing the terms of office of National Assembly deputies.

11. The draft law on public rallies, meetings, and demonstrations.

12. The draft law on public associations of citizens.

13. The draft law on amending the Penal Code.

14. The draft law on amnesty.

15. The proposal on the election of a parliamentary commission for discussing and resolving certain urgent problems related to deformations and breaches of law in public and economic life.

16. The proposal on the election of a parliamentary commission in charge of examining questions related to the construction of the Rila water power reservoir and the Mesta power reservoir.

17. The proposal on establishing a national center for the study of public opinion, attached to the National Assembly.

18. The report of the minister of internal affairs on some questions related to citizens' complaints about violations of their rights.

19. The proposal of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] parliamentary group that portraits of living leaders should not be exhibited in public places.

20. The proposal on electing a parliamentary commission in charge of examining a statement submitted by Ruse citizens.

21. The adoption of a plan on the legislative and control activities of the National Assembly in 1990.

I propose that these questions be included in this session's agenda. Are there any other proposals? Please.

All right, before we proceed to the adoption of the agenda, let us make a few remarks on the proposal by some National Assembly deputies:

Comrade National Assembly deputies, on behalf of the BCP parliamentary group, a draft law has been submitted on amending Paragraphs 2 and 3 of Article 1 of the Constitution related to the leading role of the party in the state and society.

Considering the fact that, according to Article 143, Paragraph 2 of the Constitution, draft laws on amending a valid Constitution should be placed on the agenda no earlier than 1 month prior to being submitted to the National Assembly, it is against the Constitution to include this issue in the agenda of the present session. This should be done at the next National Assembly session. For this reason, I propose that we discuss the draft law on amending the Constitution submitted by the BCP parliamentary group at the next session of the National Assembly, which is scheduled to take place in mid-January 1990, so that we do not violate the Constitution and the procedures related to its amendment.

I propose, first of all, that those National Assembly deputies who agree with this proposal that the draft law submitted by the parliamentary group of the BCP should be discussed at the next National Assembly session in mid-January should vote. Are there any votes against? One, two, three, four, five. Five deputies are against. Are there any deputies abstaining? There are eight.

The proposal is accepted.

Now I would like those deputies who approve of the agenda to vote.

Are there any votes against? No. Any abstentions? No. The agenda is adopted.

Vulcheva Resigns

AU1412184689

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1730 GMT on 14 December is monitored in progress carrying an unscheduled report on the 12th Session of the Ninth National Assembly, which opened at 1300 GMT.

An unidentified reporter says that the debates on the first item on the agenda, adoption of normative decrees submitted between the 10th and 12th sessions of the National Assembly, lasted for "nearly 3 and ½ half hours and 30 National Assembly deputies took the floor on the subject."

The reporter further states that the second and third items on the agenda are now under discussion and that they "envision certain changes in the composition of the National Assembly and in the State Council leadership. On item two of the agenda, Drazha Vulcheva, at her own request, was relieved of the post of deputy chairman of the National Assembly, while on item three the National Assembly deputies voted on the proposal of relieving Petur Tanchev, Georgi Dzhagarov, Yordan Yotov, Ivan Panev, Vladimir Bonev, Nacho Papazov, Pencho Kubadinski, and Nikolay Zhishev from their positions in the State Council. We are expecting an additional proposal on the release of Panteley Zarev and Angel Balevski, and now we hear that these proposals were also adopted. The following National Assembly deputies were elected to the State Council: Angel Dimitrov, first deputy chairman of the State Council; and Vasil Mruchkov, member of the State Council."

The unidentified reporter further interviews his colleague Zakhari Stanimirov, who reports on the rally in

front of the National Assembly building. Stanimirov says that he does not know what to call this rally, whether it is a meeting, or "a demonstration." He adds that "it can unfortunately not be called a living chain, because the rally developed into a demonstration of informal groups that, regrettably, raised some old demands. I call them old, because many of the questions that they raised in the presence of the so-called majority gathered at the rally have already been resolved, either by the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, or are about to solved by the National Assembly. We must add that the representatives of the independent associations a few minutes, or perhaps half an hour prior to the beginning of their improvised rally, submitted a special resolution to the National Assembly, which was received by Angel Dimitrov, deputy chairman of the National Assembly."

Reporter Stanimirov repeats that the resolution "raises outdated demands." He further states that Petur Mladenov and National Assembly Deputy Neshka Robeva proposed the establishment of a National Assembly Deputies' Commission in charge of meeting the great number of people gathered at the National Assembly Square and the commission is composed of Stanko Todorov, Milena Stamboliyska, Blagovest Sendov and Neshka Robeva. Staninmimrov adds that the meeting is "presumably in process at this very moment."

Further on Assembly

AU1412192789 Sofia BTA in English
1820 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] The National Assembly laid the beginning of the procedure to abolish the texts in the Constitution regulating the BCP's [Bulgarian Communist Party's] leading role. The BCP parliamentary group submitted a draft law about this but according to the major law the change can be made after a month. The M.P's decided that the draft law be considered at the January session.

The atmosphere in which the National Assembly is conferring is unusual. Demonstrations in front of the parliament are continuing. The participants are promising that "things will be so every day." Representatives of the Union of Democratic Forces have been admitted in the parliament building.

In the last days the National Assembly has been receiving petitions and demands from social groups and citizens. They insist for a referendum for a new constitution which should be much more democratic than the acting one, which was adopted in 1971.

The Council of Students and the Council of the Young Scientific Workers demand a new law on the scientific activity and higher education, the Bulgarian National Film Archives a new law on protection of the film archives.

Journalists from the major mass media have sent a petition by which they insist for legal guarantees for a multi-party parliamentary democracy, the speedy adoption of a law for freedom of the opinions, press and information after a referendum, de-ideologization of the mass media, dropping of all open and secret censorship units in the press, breaking of the monopoly of information, accountability of the Ministry of Internal Affairs before parliament about its activities related to "ideological struggle".

For the first time in the parliament's practice four out of a total of 18 decrees of the State Council submitted for approval were turned down. Commenting on these statutory acts, the secretary of the Legislative Commission said that a number of infringements and misconceptions have been made at their issuing.

"The patriarch" of the Bulgarian parliament Mikhail Genovski from the Agrarian Party (BZNS) described the state of the parliament, a result of the ample legal activity of the state council, "like a fish out of water." This statement was made in relation with the decree about the use of land and the agricultural activity on the basis of which over a thousand economies were founded. The M.P. called this "a covert type of land nationalization" and spoke against the decree and for the early adoption of a law on the land.

Another decree was criticized by Kosta Andreev, secretary of the trade unions, for introducing a system for forced labour at this particular time, when the country is trying to bring the legislation in compliance with international standards.

A 42-year-old law drew unprecedented criticism on the parliament's floor from Mrs Milena Stamboliyska, M.P., who declared herself against the disbandment and outlawing of the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union, then in opposition. She also called for the rehabilitation of Nikola Petkov and of all his associates, whether repressed or banished in emigration.

Speaking on behalf of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party, Mrs Milena Stamboliyska stressed that the motion to amend Article 1 of the Constitution was introduced not only by the BCP but by her party, too. She further moved that the National Assembly establish a standing committee on the development of the Bulgarian countryside, which should urgently draft a land act.

The idea to constitute a standing committee on agriculture at the National Assembly was seconded by yet another member. He further moved that the land act also treat the matter of farming machinery which is now utmost depreciated.

The ministers who issued decrees this year while knowing that legislation was needed for the sector were called upon to give an explanation.

Mr Georgi Menov, minister of agriculture, said that according to the Decision on the Allocation of Land for Individual Use now in effect, the land plots handed out range from 0.2 to 1.0 hectares in the intensive farming

areas nationwide to 15 hectares in the backward highland areas suitable for the development of animal husbandry. A total of 100,000 hectares of unproductive land has been made available to the Central Cooperative Union. He explained that the main obstacles to the transfer of the land now is the lack of manpower, of machinery and of interest.

The artist Mr Svetlin Rusev M.P., recently rehabilitated as member of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP, described as "disgraceful" the decree which retailored the country's system of territorial administration in the last years of Todor Zhivkov's rule.

Ms Evka Razvigorova M.P., member of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party faction, emphasized that many of the decrees are poorly motivated and unclear and some sound paradoxically. She quoted as an example a text under which a regional people's council "assists the promotion of self-government by the population" while at the same time the council is supposed to be a body of self-government itself.

Why the rules and regulations of the Bulgarian National Bank have been amended allowing it to issue banknotes in 50 and 100 leva denominations? Mr Vasil Kolarov, governor of the Bulgarian National Bank, explained in detail the dramatic rise in the money supply in circulation and revealed that if certain hidden forms of the budget deficit are taken into account, it now accounts to 16,000 billion leva, 6,000 million more than the figure disclosed by Mr Petur Mladenov, the party leader and head of state, three days ago.

Mr Vasil Kolarov told the M.P.s that Mr Petur Mladenov, Mr Georgi Atanasov, General Dobri Dzhurov and Mr Andrey Lukanov had tried to oppose the unrealistic monetary plans of the former head of state.

Protesters Addressed

AU1412200889 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Excerpts] The 12th Session of the Ninth National Assembly opened today. [passage omitted]

At the request of the demonstrators who surrounded the National Assembly building, the National Assembly deputies agreed to talk to them. Comrade Stanko Todorov was one of the speakers, let us hear part of what he said.

[Begin Todorov recording] [Passage indistinct] Do not ask us to violate the Constitution, we are civilized people, we believe in our students, and in our youth, because they are our future. [end recording]

At a renewed request of the participants in the rally, Petur Mladenov spoke to them. Let us hear part of his words:

[Begin Mladenov recording] I address you and I appeal to your sense of responsibility for the fate of the people and of Bulgaria. Personal irresponsibility is likely to lead our country and people to a tragedy. Believe me that we truly aspire for a new life, for true democracy. [end recording]

Despite this readiness for a dialogue, the participants in the rally did not wish to hear the words of the chairman of the National Assembly and of State Council Chairman Petur Mladenov, as a result of which the National Assembly deputies at the session adopted a declaration in which they denounced the lack of political culture and sense of responsibility, manifested in these days when consolidation along the path of building a law-governed state is urgently required.

The following is a recording from the National Assembly.

[Begin Todorov recording] At the beginning of the today's National Assembly Session a few informal organizations addressed the Sofia City Council with the request of holding a procession and rally for the purpose of expressing their stand on a series of problems. The respective authorization was quickly granted. Unfortunately, despite the preliminary assurances of the organizers, the behavior of some participants in these events went beyond the tolerable limits for every democratic and law-governed society. Under the obvious influence of interested forces, a demonstration took place around the National Assembly building that showed a lack of culture and showed intolerance. Involving some young people in an antisocialist and anticonstitutional action, these forces provoked not only the supreme organ of power, but they also showed their evident intentions of doing everything within their power to destabilize our society. The National Assembly, in accordance with the Constitution, is watching over the rights, freedoms, and peace of the Bulgarian people. It has no intention of deviating from this resolve, and rejects all attempts of influencing its activities through anti-democratic means. The National Assembly shall not permit the country to be pushed toward chaos and national tragedy. Legal order and democracy cannot be implemented with means that contradict these assets.

Guided by these principles and by its constitutional obligations, the National Assembly appeals to the capital's citizens, to the working people, as well as the patriotic agrarian youth, to oppose similar actions and to declare firmly that attempts at destabilizing the situation and of, thus, inflicting a strike against restructuring and the democratization process are doomed to failure. If such attempts should continue, the organizers should assume the full responsibility stemming from the acting Constitution and from our country's laws. Today, more than ever, the glorious watchword is valid for us: Unity makes us strong. I request the National Assembly deputies who agree with the resolution vote. Are their any votes against, or abstentions? No, the declaration is unanimously adopted and should be broadcast on radio and television. Immediately! [end recording].

Following this, the National Assembly deputies resumed their work on the adopted agenda by accepting that Georgi Yordanov and Grigor Stoichkov should be released from their posts as deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers, and by electing Nadya Asparukhova as deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. At this late hour the session of the National Assembly is still in process.

Debates Continue

AU1412203989 Sofia BTA in English 1952 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] The nearly three-hour debate abounded in variety of suggestions and opinions and often departed from the subject on the agenda and digressed into other spheres of life. The debate ended in the unanimous adoption of the bill [which bill not further specified] "in principle". The documents will go for further discussion into the committees tomorrow.

The M.P.'s voted in the motions to form two new National Assembly standing committees: a committee on agriculture and forestry and a committee on women's affairs, motherhood and child-care.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers said that within a month the government will introduce a draft land act.

Taking a stand on the already voted personnel changes in the State Council, General Khristo Ruskov stressed that this is a major "constitutional institution." The writer Mr Georgi Dzhagarov took a diametrically opposite view. He used his passing from the state scene to shed light on its backstage. Shortly after it had been established, the State Council had turned into a rubber stamp and its sessions had become ritual meetings. Between 1985 and 1988 it had held only two sessions. He embellished his account with a number of examples of the Politburo and of Todor Zhivkov himself wrecking the authority of this supreme body.

Mr Yordan Yotov, ex-member of the Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], who was mentioned by name in Mr Georgi Dzhagarov's statement, objected that all this should have been said before November 10 when Todor Zhivkov was ousted.

Assembly Condemns Pressure

AU1512080389 Sofia BTA in English 2054 GMT 14 Dec 89

["National Assembly Declaration"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 14 (BTA)—The National Assembly, which is sitting in session here, rejected all attempts to pressure its decision-making process by undemocratic means. It made public a declaration which says that the National Assembly "will not allow the country to be plunged into chaos and a national tragedy."

Saying that the Sofia City Council has allowed some informal organisations to hold a procession and to give expression to their stand on certain issues of public concern, the National Assembly declares:

"Regrettably, despite the organizers' advance assurances, the behaviour of part of the participants during those manifestations went beyond the bounds admissible for every democratic community committed to the rule of law. Under the obvious influence of interested forces, a demonstration of political vulgarity and intolerance was held around the Bulgarian parliament building. Drawing thousands of young people into an anti-socialist and an anti-constitutional action, those forces defied not only the supreme body of power in this country. They demonstrated their obvious intentions to do everything possible to bring disunity to the nation and to cause destabilization at a time when all Bulgaria ever more firmly and confidently embarks on the road of national consolidation in the name of socialist renewal and of building a just and democratic state committed to the rule of law in our motherland.

"The National Assembly, in compliance with the Constitution, is the supreme guarantor of the rights, the freedoms and the calm of the Bulgarian people. It does not intend to evade this obligation and absolutely rejects any attempt to bring pressure to bear on its decision-making process by anti-democratic means. It will not allow the country to be plunged into chaos and a national tragedy. Law and order and democracy cannot be promoted and consolidated by actions which are organically at variance with them.

"Guided by these principles and by its constitutional obligations, the National Assembly calls on the citizens of the capital, on the working people, the intelligentsia and the patriotically minded youth to resist resolutely such manifestations and to declare firmly that the attempts to destabilize the situation and in this way to inflict a blow to restructuring and the democratization process are doomed to failure. If these attempts continue, their organizers will have to take the full responsibility arising from the effective Constitution and the laws of the land.

"The great motto 'united we stand, divided we fall' is relevant now more than ever before'."

Zhivkov, Balev Dismissed

AU1412214789 Sofia BTA in English 2101 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 14 (BTA)—At its session today the National Assembly terminated the national representative (member of parliament) mandates of Todor Zhivkov, of his son Vladimir Zhivkov and of Milko

Balev, Grisha Filipov, Dimitur Stoyanov, Nikola Stefanov, Yaroslav Radev and Khristo Ruskov who have been associated with the totalitarian system.

Demands Presented

AU1512080189 Sofia BTA in English 2230 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 14 (BTA)—While the National Assembly was in session, thousands of people outside the parliament building, holding candles and placards, urged for immediate constitutional amendments, a self-dissolution of the National Assembly and free elections. Mr Zhelyu Zhelev, leader of the Union of Democratic Forces, handed a National Assembly deputy chairman a document demanding immediate and radical democratic reforms.

The chanting and the booing went on unabated for hours around the besieged parliament until the tension reached the chamber. Ms Neshka Robeva M.P., the popular rhythmic gymnastics coach, moved that the parliamentarians send representatives to explain to the multitude the constitutional procedure of repealing Article 1.

Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, and some popular M.P's tried to talk to the crowd but their words were cried down by boos. Mr Petur Mladenov then came out and addressed the multitude on a megaphone.

"I appeal to your sense of responsibility for the fate of Bulgaria," he said. His warnings that extremism will lead to tragedy drew chants of "tragedy for you." His words were punctuated by boos. When he called on the crowd to keep their sense of responsibility, the response was "shame on you." When he said that "parliament goes on working," the crowd reacted by chanting "resignations." "You are pushing Bulgaria on the road to ruin," Mr Petur Mladenov said before re-entering the parliament building.

Mr Zhelyu Zhelev and other independent organizations leaders also failed in their attempts to soothe the protestors.

Both the session and the demonstration are going on.

Mr Stanko Todorov read a declaration condemning the attempt to bring pressure to bear on the operation of the legislature. (The declaration was transmitted as a separate item).

The M.P.'s voted the following personnel changes in the Council of Ministers:

Ms Nadya Asparukhova was elected deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The requests of Mr Georgi Yordanov and Mr Grigor Stoichkov to be relieved of their duties as deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers were granted.

Mr Evtim Stoichkov was elected prosecutor general and Mr Vasil Mruchkov was relieved of this post.

The M.P.'s approved of the motion to establish a National Assembly Standing Committee on Defence Matters and Internal Affairs and elected its members and leadership.

A motion to adjourn the debate of the 1990 national budget bill was passed.

Motivating the postponement of the debate on the budget bill, Mr Belcho Belchev M.P., minister of finance, cited the huge deficit which is expected to amount approximately to 1,000 million leva this year, the need to abandon the existing practise of budgeting without consulting a number of departments and organisations directly concerned, as well as the need for a more thorough-going examination of the bill in the National Assembly committees.

Four bills which have already gone through the committee stage were submitted to the full house. They codify a further democratization of public life in the country.

The bills on meetings, rallies and demonstrations, on citizens' public associations, on Penal Code amendments and on an amnesty will bring the national legislation in line with Bulgaria's international human rights commitments.

The citizens' public associations bill allows the formation by notification of associations which do not have a body corporate status.

Political parties, trade unions and religious organisations may be formed on the basis of the Constitution, the Labour Code and the religious faiths act, respectively.

If enacted, the amnesty will apply to all acts decriminalized by the Penal Code amendment and will also cover the people who have already served out their prison terms. Mrs Svetla Daskalova, minister of justice, said that 53 prisoners will be released.

The M.P.'s started a debate on all four bills.

The National Assembly will resume its session tomorrow.

Mladenov Heads Armed Forces

AU1512111689 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1020 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Report by Tsveti Gerov on proceedings of 12th Session of Ninth National Assembly in Sofia on 15 December—live]

[Text] At the moment Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Central Committee Politburo and minister of national

defense, is making a report on the budget expenditures, strength, and armaments of the Bulgarian People's Army.

[Dzhurov] We will establish the true power of the people and give a qualitatively new image to our socialist homeland. In accordance with Article 78 of the Constitution—and I quote:

The National Assembly, in Clause 11, appoints the commander in chief of the Bulgarian Armed Forces, and relieves him of his post.

Until now, the commander in chief of the Armed Forces of the People's Republic of Bulgaria was the former general secretary and chairman of the State Council. I propose that you vote for him to be relieved of this post, and for Petur Mladenov, the new general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and chairman of the State Council, to be elected in his place.

[First unidentified speaker] I thank Dobri Dzhurov for his report. I now want to propose for us to adopt a decision on his proposal, on relieving the commander in chief of the Armed Forces of his post and appointing a new commander in chief. Please, who is in agreement that he should be relieved? [stirring in assembly, inaudible interjection] On what question? As commander in chief? [inaudible response from hall]

[Second unidentified speaker] Comrades, we are not holding a debate now on the issue of Article 1 of the Constitution. We must now decide to adopt the proposal that only the chairman of the State Council should be the new commander in chief. [muttering in assembly]

[First unidentified speaker] I beg your pardon? [brief pause] I propose the motion. Who is for the proposal that Todor Zhivkov should be relieved of the post of commander in chief of the Armed Forces? Please cast your vote. Any against? None. There are no abstentions. The decision is adopted unanimously.

Who is for the motion that the National Assembly should appoint Petur Mladenov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, as the new commander in chief of the Armed Forces? Please cast your votes. Any against? None. Any abstentions? None. The proposal is adopted unanimously.

[Gerov] We will inform you in detail about Comrade Dobri Dzhurov's report in the program "Conversation With You."

2d Day of Assembly

AU1512123589 Sofia BTA in English 1151 GMT 15 Dec 89

["Parliament: One-Minute Silence Followed by Glasnost""—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 15 (BTA)—The National Assembly resumed its session here this morning with a debate on the business on the agenda adopted yesterday.

At the end of yesterday's sitting, which ended at 9 pm, the legislature passed in principle the bills on the meetings, rallies and demonstrations, on citizens' public associations, on a penal code amendments and on an amnesty.

A motion to have the meetings, rallies and demonstrations bill and the citizens' public associations bill published in the press for a nationwide discussion and to put them to the vote in parliament at its January session was carried unanimously.

Opening today's sitting, Mr Stanko Todorov M.P., chairman of the National Assembly, moved that the M.P.'s observe a one-minute silence in memory of Traycho Kostov who was sentenced to death on charges framed up by the Stalinist regime and was hanged on December 16 forty years ago. (Traycho Kostov was completely rehabilitated by the November 13 plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party).

Reaffirming the importance which the M.P.'s attach to yesterday's motion introduced by the factions of the BCP (Bulgarian Communist Party) and the Bulgarian Communist Party [as received] on a repeal of Paras 2 and 3 of Article 1 of the Constitution, the National Assembly adopted a formal resolution on the matter which describes the motion to abolish this constitutional provision as an important step towards the assertion of political pluralism and building a democratic state committed to the rule of law.

The National Assembly resolved to vote this amendment at its next session which will be held in January 1990, the document says, motivating the decision by the effective constitutional procedure which lays down that a bill for the amendment of the Constitution is placed on the agenda not earlier than one month after being submitted to the National Assembly.

The lawmakers elected a Parliamentary Commission to Consider and Solve Some Urgent Problems Arising From the Abuses and Breaches of the Law Committed in State, Public and Economic Life. The approval of the commission's composition brings to an end the work of the party and state commission formed for the same purpose.

The parliamentary commission will comprise M.P.'s, party veterans and activists of the informal associations and organisations who claim a share in the consideration of these matters.

Mr Ognyan Doynov M.P., who has been named as one of the three main culprits for the country's economic crisis, said that he had submitted a statement categorically

objecting to this qualification. In his view, the responsibility is shared by other people as well, including Mr Andrey Lukanov.

It was moved that the commission apportion blame for the failure of all programmes on raising the people's living standards.

The chairman of the National Assembly said that the commission will also consider the question of rehabilitating Nikola Petkov, Dimitur Gichev and all Bulgarian Agrarian Party figures convicted and repressed since 1947.

Independent Student Leader Appeals for Calm

AU1512092689 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0700 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Excerpts] [News announcer Nikolay Dumanov] What is the reaction in the country to what took place last night in front of the National Assembly building? This is not the right way toward the desired changes: This is how one can summarize the remarks of Anna Atanasova, a worker in the Systems and Electronic Equipment Combine in Ruse. [end Dumanov remarks] [passage omitted]

[Unidentified woman announcer] Similar motives no doubt prompted Emil Koshlukov to come to our studio. Some of you know of him, but I will tell the others that he is chairman of the Coordinating Committee of Independent Student Associations. We will now hear what he has to say:

[Begin Koshlukov recording] The Coordination Committee of Independent Student Associations makes this appeal:

Disturbed by the public displays yesterday, we address ourselves to the Bulgarian students and appeal for their assistance. Let us categorically renounce all manifestations of a low standard of political behavior, rude conduct, and actions that are not in accord with the law. Let us state that we can conduct a civilized dialogue and take part in the country's democratization as mature individuals.

Let us call a halt to the attempts to create unrest, provocations, and agitations of the Bulgarian people. Let us keep to the spirit of the independent student associations: lawful aims, and legal means.

Let us not take any further part in such events, and no rally of this kind should take place at which there are chants of "Come Out! Come Out!" but, when the National Assembly deputies do come out, they are denied the opportunity to speak. We categorically condemn this. [end recording]

Varna, Kazunluk Rallies Support BCP Policy

AU1412211789 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] The participants in the rally organized by the BCP local organization in Varna tonight supported the processes of renewal in our country. Comrade Petko Danev, candidate member of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee and first secretary of the Varna Oblast BCP Committee, spoke at the rally. He mentioned the new tasks and responsibilities facing the oblast and municipal leaderships.

A rally was held in Kazunluk tonight. It was attended by more than 12,000 workers and employees from all branches of the city's economic sector. It was organized by the Arsenal Company collective. The speakers at the rally expressed their ardent support for the BCP Central Committee Plenum decisions and their readiness to get involved in the implementation of the tasks of real restructuring, with the aim of dismantling the command-bureaucratic system by reducing the administrative apparatus and eliminating all the deformations that have occurred in our social and everyday life.

Razgrad Oblast BCP Plenum Elects New Leader

AU1412195989 Sofia BTA in English 1834 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Razgrad, December 14 (BTA)—The BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Regional Committee in Razgrad met today to choose a new first secretary in an unprecedented two-candidate election. After two rounds of voting, Mr Boris Anastasov, until now secretary of the regional committee, was elected first secretary of the BCP Regional Committee in Razgrad.

The plenum relieved Mr Petur Petrov of his duties as first secretary due to his election as minister of construction, architecture and urban development.

Burgas Oblast BCP Plenum Opens Session

AU1412150689 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] In Burgas an extraordinary plenum of the Burgas Oblast Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] opened, at which a new first secretary of the oblast BCP committee will be elected. Comrade Belcho Belchev is taking part in the plenum. The convening of the plenum was necessary because of the demands by the citizens of Burgas Oblast put forward at rallies organized by political and social forces and informal associations for the replacement of the leading apparatus in the entire oblast.

The bureau of the Burgas Oblast BCP Committee put forward as provisional candidates the names of Petur Peykov, secretary of Burgas Oblast BCP Committee; and Ivan Chengeliev, first secretary of the district BCP committee at the Burgas Petrochemical Combine.

Secretary Resigns

AU1412172589 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] An extraordinary plenum of the Burgas Oblast Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Committee was held in Burgas today. Organizational and cadre problems were discussed.

The plenum decided to accept the resignation of Nikolay Zhishev from his post of first secretary of the BCP Oblast Committee because he has reached retirment age and in connection with the sociopolitical trends emerging in the oblast.

Ivan Chengeliev, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and secretary of the district party committee at the Burgas Petrochemical Plant, was elected first secretary of the Burgas Oblast BCP Committee in his place. Belcho Belchev, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of finance, participated in the work of the plenum.

Summary of BCP CC's Plenum Resolution

AU1412154189 Sofia BTA in English 1419 GMT 14 Dec 89

["Resolution of the BCP CC Plenum"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 14 (BTA)—"The new political course of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] is directed to taking the country out of the crisis in the economy and the social sphere, to the establishment of a democratic law-abiding state, to radical restructuring of the party, to the construction of a real democratic and humane socialism," it is said in the resolution adopted at the plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP which ended here yesterday.

The building up of a socialist market economy is the main target of the sweeping economic reform proposed by the plenum. It will guarantee the unhindered development of all forms of ownership on an equal basis by observing the principles of social justice. Conditions will be ensured for combining the economic independence of all economic units with state planning and regulation, for the extension of production democracy and socialist self-management of labour collectives.

Providing more goods and services for the population is one of the priorities of the reform. The possibilities of the producers of means of production will be made use of, the conversion of the military industry will be accelerated, taxation, credit and currency exchange facilities will be granted and the control over inflation will tighten in order to lend stability to the domestic market as early as in 1990.

In the present crisis situation in the economy the efforts should be directed at preserving the standard of living and extending help to the strata within the lowest income bracket, it is pointed out in the resolution. It is proposed to the government to look for possibilities of ensuring the social minimum for pensioners over 70 and for invalids. By limiting the construction in the sphere of production, resources should be freed for housing construction. Urgent measures for the improvement of health care and for solving ecological problems, especially in regions heavily struck by pollution, are outlined.

Agriculture, the food and the light industry, economic tourism and public utility services are specified as the priorities of the restructuring in the structure of production. The land should be given up to those who cultivate it and they should choose themselves the forms of ownership over it, cooperative, state-owned or private, it is said in the document. It is underlined that at the very beginning of 1990 the National Assembly should pass a bill that would provide a permanent solution to the problems of economic relations in the sphere of agriculture.

Through a dialogue between labour collectives and competent authorities measures should be outlined for the stabilization or decisions will be made for the closure of unprofitable enterprises. For the purpose of guaranteeing stability and security, in the future the management of economic activity will be performed only under the respective operative laws.

Stimulating exports, sharply cutting foreign exchange expenses, including the means for the maintenance of diplomatic and trade representations, are some of the measures aimed at delaying the growth of the country's foreign debt and achieving an active foreign currency balance in the near future.

The taxation system should ensure the conditions for the companies' self-support. It is only the National Assembly that can adopt decisions for additional money issues and set a maximum limit as to the country's internal debt.

The plenum proposes the implementation of measures for cutting down administration staff at the beginning of 1990. The expenses for the support of the Ministries of Defense and the Interior should be restricted to an amount that will be sufficient to guarantee the internal and national security of the state and society.

The elimination of the authoritarian bureaucratic system, the establishment of a socialist civic society and a democratic law-abiding state is the main target of the restructuring in the political system.

Measures are proposed for the assertion of the National Assembly as the supreme operative body of state power. As early as in 1990 a draft for a new constitution should be worked out and submitted for a free and democratic nationwide discussion. The plenum proposes that the National Assembly should pass an election bill on the basis of which free democratic elections will be held in the second quarter of 1990. It is also suggested to set up a parliamentary commission which should investigate the distortions and offences against law in the state,

social and economic life and study the question whether it is necessary and expedient to have a State Council.

Within the framework of the reform in the legal system based on the new Constitution, it is proposed to work out a programme concerning the adoption of the most urgently needed laws: about political and public organizations and associations; the economic reform, ownership laws included; the economic activity, land and land management; social security.

The Central Committee declares itself to be categorically for the independence of court, prosecution and investigation authorities.

Guided by the concept that in a democratic society the role of a given party cannot be decreed by law but is determined by the people's confidence and support for its policy, the Central Committee entrusts the BCP parliamentary group with the task of submitting a motion to the forthcoming session of the National Assembly for cancelling the provisions in the Constitution that guarantee its leading role.

The restructuring of the BCP is a precondition for the restructuring of the entire society and an indivisible part of it. The resolution reads that only the cardinal restructuring of the BCP will restore and consolidate the trust of the people in the party work and the socialist ideal, will turn the party into a political, intellectual, and moral vanguard of society.

The plenum considers its necessary to convene the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the BCP on March 19, 1990. The Politburo will introduce a proposal for agenda of the congress at the next plenum of the CC, proposal for the basic documents to be adopted, the membership of the commissions for their drafting, the way for electing delegates for the congress as well as the norms of representation.

The resolution sets the task in the course of the preparation of the congress to work out a modern, free of prejudices and deformations vision about the Communist Party, for its role, functions and place in the development of the society, with the active participation of all Communists.

The determination of the party policy on all levels will be made with the most active participation of the Communists and all working people. The internal party life will be democratized, the rights of the Communists and the autonomy of the organizations will be broadened through the complete elimination of undivided authority and the monopoly on the truth in the party, and other measures for democratic elections, pluralism of opinions and control on the leading bodies and personnel.

The document proposes to give wide scope of the public principle by reducing the party apparatus and innovating its membership. The Communists are called to take active part in the public organizations and movements and to withstand the political principles and aims of the party.

The resolution envisages simplification and democratization of the admittance of new members in the party by elimination of the bureaucratic practice for "limitation" of the number of the new members.

The Central Committee thinks it necessary that the local party organizations should review the cases of expelling and heavy punishments imposed on Communists during the previous years when the decisions have been taken under pressure "from above" or due to other subjective reasons. The Communists, the local party organizations and the party bodies on all levels should remove their trust from the leading party figures who have undermined the prestige of the party and who are not capable of implementing its policy.

The plenum decided that the requirement for the holding of a leading post not longer than two mandates should enter into force as of December 11, 1989, and the first mandate of the leading personnel will expire on the next party congress.

The resolution stresses the role and the responsibility of the intellectuals in the process of restructuring and expresses the resoluteness of the party to support self-government and pluralism in the intellectual sphere, complete freedom and independence of the creative and techno-scientific unions and societies.

The BCP reaffirms its readiness for equal right cooperation with the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS). The Central Committee stresses that the relations of the party with the political and public organizations, movements and initiatives should be based on equality, partnership and respect of their independence.

The plenum greets the resolution of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions for independence of that organization.

The party assesses the establishing and the activity of new independent movements and structures as an expression of political pluralism. With those of them who fight for democracy and innovation of society on the base of socialism and adherence to the Constitution and to the laws of this country the party is ready to lead constructive dialogue and to carry out broad cooperation. At the same time it will lead political struggle with those who deny socialism.

The plenum is of the opinion that the party policy for consolidation of the people must be based on the full equality before the law of all Bulgarian citizens without any difference due to their social position, religious affiliation, culture and ethnical self-awareness.

The Central Committee entrusts the Politburo with the task to establish a party commission which should

analyse in detail and will propose as soon as possible a platform for the durable resolution of this problem of vital importance.

The plenum reiterates the priority importance of the relations and cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist countries, of the active participation of Bulgaria in the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, of the good-neighbourly relations with the Balkan states. Maintaining reliable defence potential and its obligations to the allies, Bulgaria should give adequate contribution to disarmament. As an immediate step the plenum proposes at the forthcoming session of the National Assembly the government to announce the budget expenses for defence, the strength of the Bulgarian People's Army.

Nuclear Plant Workers Complain of Conditions

AU1412151189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Dec 89 p 4

[Unattributed report: "The View From Inside Is Not Reassuring"]

[Excerpts] Stefan Zhelezarov brought to the editorial office a letter of appeal that was adopted on 20 November 1989 at a joint meeting of the workers from the Main Equipment Reactor Department at the Kozloduy "Nuclear Energy" Economic Trust. The appeal is addressed to the leadership of the trust, the Energy Industry Committee under the Council of Ministers, the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, the Mikhaylovgrad Oblast BCP Committee, the State Council, the State and People's Control Committee, and our own editorial office. The letter states as follows:

We, the workers of the Main Equipment Reactor Department at the Kozloduy "Nuclear Energy" Economic Trust, cannot remain indifferent toward the historic changes now taking place in our country. We identify with the fate of our native land, and the well-being of our people is our goal, because we are part of the people's labor potential.

We address this appeal to you because we firmly believe that our leadership is fully aware of the elementary truth that the wealth of the state lies in the good health and well-being of the people at large, not of individuals. We therefore demand that a fundamental review be made of both our working conditions and our social and everyday living conditions, which should be improved.

What are our working and living conditions like:

To everyone, even the most uninformed person, the very mention of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant implies special working conditions. However, labor protection issues are greatly neglected at our enterprise. Let us start from the beginning: [passage omitted]

—During the maintenance of the reactors, the workers may received a dose of gamma radiation equal to 80 millibers [milibera] per shift, over about 100-150 days per year. In special cases, in the course of completing certain operations this dosage may rise to 1 ber.

We consider that these high doses are extremely harmful to our health, because they run contrary to the international standards and recommendations established by the International Atomic Energy Agency that are in force at the present. [passage omitted]

—We insist that a law be drafted and submitted for the National Assembly's approval that lays down the permitted lifelong dose of radiation, the pensioning age, and the daily permitted dosage. [passage omitted]

—We are not familiar with the plan of action in the event of a major industrial accident. Personal protection equipment is lacking.

—The wage scales for workers employed in an ionizing environment should be separate from those employed outside. The Council of Ministers Decree that regulates additional payments for work in specific and harmful working conditions should be re-examined and adjusted. [passage omitted]

—We require comfortable, smart, and healthy working clothing. In this respect we would draw on the experience of our colleagues in the GDR, CSSR, and Hungary.

—It is necessary to strictly fulfill Council of Ministers Decree No. 6 of 1988, and also to improve transport services and re-examine the project for building a trolley-bus line to the town of Kozloduy.

The Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant does not have its own health check-up clinics or a center for the workers' rest and recreation. The medical examinations, conducted twice a year, are a formality. No data is recorded on the state of health of the workers. We insist that a center be established for treatment, rest, and recreation. [passage omitted]

Reasons for Shortages of Goods Examined

AU0812103389 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 6 Dec 89 pp 1,2

[Dimitur Avramov article: "In the Trap of the Shortages"]

[Text] After pronouncing an anathema against the market for several decades, because of economic shortsightedness, we recently discovered what the civilized world knows only too well, namely that the market is the main regulator in society, and that the road that diverges from the laws of economics leads only to economic ruin, ruin that now stares us in the face, and is felt in our pockets and on the empty shelves of our stores.... No matter that the "concern" over our needs was proclaimed with fanfares of trumpets in every possible way, we still did not see the promised abundance, which nad apparently sunk somewhere in the sea of vociferous phraseology....

For this reason, during the last 40 years a remarkable invention of the totalitarian system made its appearance: the endless queues outside the stores. What is more, the system cultivated an interesting reflex action among the Bulgarian people, so that now the citizen, when he makes his purchases, asks the question: "Do you have any?" (instead of saying "Give me this!") This is because the most frequent response is "We have none!" In this way, the market becomes a reflection of the economic possibilities (and some people's management capacities), while the gap separating the state of the market and a collapse of confidence is reduced to zero.

Even this year the ubiquitous "we have none" has found a comfortable home in freely available or confidential information, reports, and conferences, has emptied the stores, and dealt a blow against our civic dignity. The numbers of essential goods (and indeed goods of all kinds) whose production is falling sharply as compared with last year are literally astounding. Milk, white and yellow cheese, beans, fish, sugar, green peppers, children's foods, salt and vinegar (!), tailored clothing, footwear, industrial domestic products, coal, radiators, knitted outerwear and underwear.... The list is an extremely long one.

The state of the market was also discussed recently at a session of the Committee for State and People's Control, which ended by issuing "warnings" to 10 general directors of companies and making the old familiar appeals for more responsibility on the part of leaders of companies, whose punishments as stated in the draft resolution submitted to the session were somewhat different, as one might have expected: a "severe reprimand" for one, and "reprimands" for others. This metamorphosis will be explained later, but here for the moment is a quote from the document in question: "The main reason for the market's difficult position is that a number of companies failed to accept the full estimated amounts according to the state plan or to accept certain state orders for the production of goods and services, are not fulfilling their own plans, and in many cases have permitted a decrease in the production of certain basic commodities as compared to last year."

It is further stated: "The companies and the other economic organizations, in their own annual plans for goods supplied from local production are falling short of the amounts budgeted for under the state plan by 774 million leva...." The relative shortfall in relation to the state's estimated amount of products intended for the commodity funds amounts to several hundred million leva. Instead of the over 1.5 billion leva of goods envisioned to be produced from additionally provided resources, up to 31 October the amount produced was only one-third of this figure. And so on, and so forth.... In this context the blame is laid upon "a number of municipal councils," enterprises of the defense industry, insufficient imports, the small percentage of barter operations, and so on. It is specified that 31 companies "are not producing the contracted amounts of consumer goods according to the assignments won by competition," mainly because of "late delivery of raw materials, components, and equipment, slowness in specifying deliveries, and lack of initiative and control in agreeing and opening letters of credit...."

I attended this meeting, and am still asking myself whether the habits of the command-administrative system, this cherished child of totalitarianism, are really so ingrained.... It seems that even the tremors that have been shaking the country for several weeks are unable to open our eyes to the truth, and to acknowledge the truth, instead of "unmasking" guilty parties in the places where one should least try to search for them.... I cannot dismiss the crazy situation in which the general directors offer explanations, ask for understanding, reject accusations, considering they are biased and unfair, ... and say in all seriousness: "I am at a loss to know why I am here!" or "Why are the problems not examined over the whole chain?"

Yes, but then it will become clear that in the course of a mere 2-3 months this summer the Rila Company lost ... 7,000 workers (not because of its own fault), which automatically led to a loss of 100 million leva (based on average earnings).... It will become clear that the administrative staff rolled up their sleeves and worked in production; that tailoring shops were ... shut down, but the collectives were working 12-hour days, and on Saturdays as well; that the plant managers toured the oblasts to the point of exhaustion, setting up production units and tiny workshops, reassigned equipment, and sought (and found) foreign partners ... in order to save the production and produce in the final analysis 30 million leva more goods than in the first 9 months of last year, with growth also being foreseen for next year. Are we supposed to understand that this is what is meant by the term "lack of initiative?"

Further along the chain, we will learn that the Pirin Company started the year with a stock of polyurethane of 22 tonnes—sufficient for its plants to operate for 1 and ½ days; or that the chronic lack of raw and other materials compelled the general director of the Svetlina Company to send a total of 15 letters in the course of a few months to highly placed state leaders. What was the result? Nil. It becomes evident from all the above that "nil" was also the amount of truth contained in the declarations made by Stoyan Ovcharov, the former minister of planning and economy, to the effect that the plan had been 100-percent ensured by allocations of raw and other materials.... It may be no accident that one of those attending described the Ministry of Planning and Economy as a most stable partner.

All this was regarded by Ivan Shpatov, minister of domestic trade, as nothing more than eloquence and an attempt to avoid blame. However, he failed to explain at the meeting (and he should also have explained to the public at large) why the contracts have still not been signed with the companies, which are operating in complete ignorance of what their production plans will be for

next year? Yet, under normal economic conditions, they should already be thinking about 1991.... They are probably still waiting for figures and instructions "from above," instructions which, as we already realize,will neither set machines in motion nor be able to fill the empty shelves in the stores.

Under the pressure of the arguments, the punishment of the company leaders was reduced (perhaps as a preventative measure), but the following remarkable passage remained in the decision I quoted from above: "The blame for the nonfulfillment of the tasks set in the 1989 plan for the country's socioeconomic development and for not achieving the established indexes lies with the leaders of the companies and economic goods-producing organizations."

If this is true, the "warning" amounts to nothing less than making a laughingstock of the long-suffering Bulgarian consumer. I permit myself to ask the chairman of the Committee for State and People's Control this: Were the general directors to blame for the state of the market last year as well? And what about the previous year? Or 5 or 10 years ago, when the crisis in the market was proceeding down through the system at a furious rate?... Or is it not in fact true that people are being sought as scapegoats who for years on end had been deprived of all chances of showing initiative, flexibility, business flair, independence, or of taking creative risks?...

This is why I believe that, before accusing the general directors of nothing less than incompetence and irresponsibility, we should first take a look at the upper levels in the state hierarchy, whose structural economic policy inevitably led to enormous shortages of goods and created a major crisis in the national economy. This crisis is partly caused by the disintegrating commodity funds, and partly by the collapsing market, which even the substantial financial injections made this year cannot put back on its feet.

After these bitter confessions, it remains for us to ask one further question, this time of Council of Ministers Chairman Georgi Atanasov: Was he and his government aware that from 1982 to the present production has been falling sharply, and this applies to over 100 groups of goods? And why, if measures were taken, were they not effective? For a long time our questions asked in the press came up against the well-oiled armor of the nomenklatura, and they answered us with silence or transparent demagoguery.... This has gone on for too long.... Now, let's try to tell the truth!

Justice Minister Daskalova Notes Changes

AU1412151889 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Dec 89 p 2

[Report on interview with Justice Minister Svetla Daskalova by RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent Tsvetana Tosheva; date and place not given—"New Legislation —Guarantee of New Legal Order"]

[Excerpts] For many years, 4 December, as well as many other professional holidays, was reflected in the press by resounding praise of our successes and unrelenting striving to march forward. Today the professional holiday of the jurists finds us in a rather complex time, when our legislation is incompatible with the new economic, political, and civil relations and the dozens of problems related to the status of the laws and the assertion of the law-governed state. In such times it is only logical to direct our conversation with Svetla Daskalova, minister of justice, toward the first steps of the change, that is to be introduced at the forthcoming National Assembly session. [passage omitted]

[Tosheva] What are the most urgent changes that are to be implemented even before amending the Constitution?

[Daskalova] The three new draft laws and the draft law on amending the Penal Code that will be reviewed at the forthcoming National Assembly session are the most pressing changes. The first draft law deals with the public associations. It will regulate the way nonprofitable public associations, which are not judicial entities, are founded. The procedure has been simplified. It is enough if five persons decide to found such an association, prepare a charter, elect a leading organ, and register at the municipal council. Associations directed against the socialist system cannot be registered. Judicial review is envisioned in cases of refusal to register such associations. The termination of such an association will also take place according to a legal procedure.

The draft law on manifestations and meetings will guarantee the citizens' right to gather in public places and express their opinion on political, cultural, ecological, and other issues of public character. For this purpose it is necessary that they inform the township or the municipal people's council in good time. In addition, guarantees have been envisioned for ensuring public order and the tranquility of other citizens, and rendering support to conducting the meetings on the part of the people's councils.

[Tosheva] Recently we have been witnessing a public disagreement with certain texts of the Penal Code, which restrict the citizens' rights and freedoms. Will the legislative organs note this disagreement?

[Daskalova] A draft on changes in the Penal Code has been prepared precisely in this sphere. It has been proposed to amend Article 108, paragraph 1; Article 109, paragraph 1; and cancel Articles 110, 112, 112-a, and 113, which define as a crime the preparations, concealment, and failure to report acts against the people's republic, or against a state or a military power with which our state is allied. The new version of Article 108, paragraph 1, envisions criminal responsibility only if someone calls for changing by force the public and state system, established by the Constitution. [passage omitted]

[Tosheva] This is envisioned for the present session. However, changes in the Penal Code are hardly the only

problems in Bulgarian legislation. Is there readiness to amend other laws, and when will this take place?

[Daskalova] The following draft laws must be urgently prepared and introduced in the National Assembly in 1990: A law on amendments and addenda to the Criminal Procedure Code, which envisions legal defense during the preliminary investigation from the moment that a citizen has been indicted or arrested, as well as measures related to setting bail, additional legal guarantees for defending the defendant's rights, and so forth. It has also been envisioned to amend the Law on the People's Militia, more specifically, the part dealing with the right of the People's Militia organs to apply coercive measures that infringe upon the citizens' rights. [passage omitted]

Podkrepa Spokesman Discusses Goals, Members

AU1412144589 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 1 Dec 89 p 6

[Interview with Georgi Spasov, "official spokesman" of the Podkrepa "Independent Trade Union," by unidentified ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME reporter on 26 November; place not given— "Are We Ready for Truth, Democracy, and Independence?"]

[Text] [ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME] On the day after the Fifth Plenum of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council, which was held on 25 November, we interviewed Georgi Spasov, official spokesman of the Podkrepa Independent Trade Union. We asked him the following question: Numerous delegates asked whether a representative of your organization would attend the Fifth Trade Union Central Council Plenum?

[Spasov] We were not invited and none of us was present. So far, we were never officially invited and it was never proposed to us to conduct a dialogue.

[ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME] What about you?

[Spasov] We have never tried, either. Until recently we had to fight for our existence and our leadership was subjected to legal investigation.

[ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME] Nevertheless, will a dialogue take place?

[Spasov] We are in favor of an equitable dialogue. It is our wish to publish our programmatic declaration, our basic goals, and tasks, and the instruments of their implementation in the trade union press organ, namely in the daily TRUD. We intend to open a broad discussion on the pages of this newspaper. Let us see what we are proposing and what kind of trade unions the working people would prefer. A program should be prepared on this basis.

[ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME] Does this mean that you are in favor of uniform trade unions?

[Spasov] We are in favor of trade union pluralism, even within one single enterprise. The official trade unions have so far accepted the programs of the Bulgarian Communist Party as their own and have served the nomenklatura. The Podkrepa leadership is totally controlled by its trade union members. We want something that cannot be achieved under the existing Constitution because, according to this Constitution the state has nationalized everything, manpower included.

[ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME] How many, and what kind of people are the Podkrepa members for the time being?

[Spasov] We are receiving 500-600 membership applications daily from the capital and all over the country. So far, we have accepted approximately 15,000 members, who are classified on the basis of professional and territorial principles.

'Editorial Note' Explains Pluralism

AU1412154089 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 Dec 89 p 3

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO editorial note: "A Necessary Clarification"]

[Text] Our readers have recently been asking questions and expressing their disagreement with certain materials, especially related to party and economic problems, which are published in RABOTNICHESKO DELO.

It is a fact that many of these materials express views and submit proposals that not only sound unusual to us, but which are unprecedented as well, despite the fact that they are based on legislation and on our Constitution. Naturally, some of them also contest some hitherto valid postulates, ideas, and norms of our society. This is true, and for this reason some readers are afraid, thinking that such publications are in contradiction with our socialist principles.

Now that we are facing the development of the strategy of real restructuring, it is very important that every opinion and proposal that is useful for socialist development should be published. We shall continue to publish such opinions in our newspaper, not only because this is required by the principles of pluralism and glasnost, but also because it is an universally known fact that truth emerges in a discussion and accurate solutions can be adopted on the basis of a broad public opinion, when the possibility of choosing between several varieties and ideas exist. This is why a special page of our new paper is entitled "Discussion About Restructuring" and a daily special rubric entitled: "My Point of View" appears, under which everyone is entitled to express his opinions and his suggestions with which he hopes to serve our socialist development, regardless of the question whether the editorial board shares his views, or not.

The page and the rubric in question are open to all our readers.

Security Police Suspected of Burning Documents

AU1412150489 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 11 Dec 89 p 2

["fil"-signed report: "Havel Shredded"]

[Text] Kanice—Last week great fires raged for days in a forest near Kanice in the Brno area. However, they were not the happy May Day fires—the high flames raged near the barbed-wire fence of the computer center attached to the Brno Regional Administration of the National Security Corps [SNB], consuming forever documents that no human eye was ever to be permitted to see. Nevertheless, they were seen—and by many a human eye, too! In fact, when the Brno university students were told by the locals that the State Security was burning "things" in Kanice forest, nobody could hold them back. On Friday [8 December] they set out toward the scene of this conflagration in three buses. And MLADA FRONTA went with them. The participants in this unusual excursion arrived in time to gather from the ashes half-burnt reports on Vaclav Havel's former speeches, lists of students who had leased cars from the BRNOCAR organization a few days ago, and other reports, all carefully cut into tiny bits. A special investigation commission, consisting of crime experts and students, was set up on Friday [8 December] afternoon. Student R. Svanda, one of the commission members, was very angry on Saturday [9 December]: "The Regional SNB Administration in Brno claims that, as usual, it had set fire to a mass of carbons, office paper, and so forth. But the chief of the SNB Administration had sent his experts to Kanice. So we insist that we will not be deceived. And at present we know far more than we knew on Friday [8 December]." The next meeting of the commission is planned for 12 December, and we will continue to keep our eye on this case.

Urbanek Says Some Presidium Members Relieved

LD1412202689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2000 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Karel Urbanek, addressing participants at a demonstration today in front of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee building in Prague, announced that some members of the Central Committee Presidium have asked to be relieved of their posts, and others have been relieved.

Party Paper's Horeni Resigns Secretariat Post

LD1412212189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2000 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Zdenek Porybny, has said that Zdenek Horeni, the editor in chief of RUDE PRAVO, asked to be relieved of his posts as member of the secretariat of the party Central Committee and editor in chief of RUDE PRAVO at yesterday's session of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee.

CPCZ Spokesman on Extraordinary Congress

LD1412215189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2035 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] An extraordinary Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Congress is to open on 20 December in the Palace of Culture in Prague.

Josef Hora, the spokesman for the party Central Committee Presidium, said at a news conference today that most of the delegates to the congress are in the 41-50 age category and that more than 50 percent of the delegates joined the party after 1970.

The forthcoming extraordinary congress could result in the CPCZ's definitive standpoint on the method of election and on the choice of candidate for the post of president of the Republic.

Josef Hora said that the Party Central Committee Presidium has discussed cadre changes in the Central Committee. Of the members of the former party and state leadership, the following have already resigned: Gustav Husak, Alois Indra, Jan Fojtik, and Ignac Janak. The Presidium also relieved the following of their posts: Vasil Bilak, Karel Hoffmann, Jozef Lenart, and Miroslav Zavadil, and therefore they can not take part in the extraordinary congress.

Further on Federal Assembly Joint Chamber Session

Jakes, Stepan Resign From Assembly

LD1412150489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] The Presidium of the Chamber of People and Chamber of Nations accepted at separate session resignations of eight deputies, among whom are Milos Jakes, Miroslav Stepan, Zbynek Zalman, Josef Riman, and Viliam Salgovic. Their mandate as deputies ends today.

Riman Resigns Mandate

LD1412204589 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Josef Riman, president of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, gave up his mandate as deputy to the Federal Assembly on 7 December. On the same day, he announced his decision to the electors in Prague 8. He did so of his own will and is not satisfied with some media reports today which say that he finished in parliament yesterday, together with the deputies who were forced to do so by receiving a vote of no confidence following their grave political mistakes.

Committees Approve Next State Budget

LD1112162189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] The State Budget of the Czechoslovak Federation and the totality of the state budgets for next year was

approved in Prague today by the members of the Constitutional-Legal Committees of the Chamber of People and the Chamber of the Nation.

In the discussion the deputies demanded that a list of construction projects for which grants are made from the State Budget were put forward and a reason for their need was rendered to be discussed by the Federal Government by the end of March next year.

The committees also demanded that they were informed about the method of providing new governmental credits to socialist countries and requested the creation of conditions for issuing state bonds as soon as possible in order to use this measure for dealing with imbalance in the State Budget.

More on Assembly Reshuffle

AU1412150989

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 13 December on pages 1 and 6, under the headline "True Conscience of the Government's Activity," carries a 3,000-word report by Marie Koenigova and Daniela Mannova on the opening day of the 17th joint meeting of Federal Assembly chambers in Prague on 12 December, as well as on the separate meetings of the two chambers which preceded the joint meeting. The report, which is otherwise covered by previously filed items, includes the following passage on changes in the Chamber of Nations and its representatives in the CSSR Federal Assembly Presidium: "Academician Anton Blazej (electoral district No. 79), member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ], was elected new chairman of the Chamber of Nations, replacing Jan Janik (electoral district No. 86) who has resigned. Blanka Hykova (Czechoslovak Socialist Party) became deputy chairman.

"The following deputies were elected members of the CSSR Federal Assembly Presidium on behalf of the Chamber of Nations: Hana Kantorova (CPCZ), Stanislav Kukral (without political affiliation), Bohumil Servus (Czechoslovak People's Party), Mikulas Sutka (CPCZ), Jozef Comba (CPCZ), Jozef Stank (CPCZ), and Anna Vargova (without political affiliation). They replace the following resigning members of the Federal Assembly Presidium: Jan Janik, Jan Marko, Marie Kabrhelova, Miroslav Zavadil, Josef Kempny, Vaclav Stafek, and Viliam Salgovic (all CPCZ). Viliam Salgovic at the same time also gave up his mandate as deputy." The election of members of the CSSR Federal Assembly Presidium members on behalf of the People's Chamber, the election of a new chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, and the election of deputy Federal Assembly chairmen were all previously covered. The RUDE PRAVO report also mentions that both chambers discussed the proposal to set up a "committee for the creation and protection of the environment." While the Chamber of Nations only approved the proposal, the People's Chamber also elected 12 committee members and Karel Loebl (Czechoslovak Socialist Party) as committee chairman. The Chamber of Nations also elected Mikulas Sutka (CPCZ) as new chairman of its Foreign Affairs Committee.

New Foreign Minister Dienstbier on Current Events

Nation's Role in European Process

LD1412134289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] At a news conference in Prague today Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier stated that the political changes in our country will fundamentally manifest themselves in the standing of Czechoslovakia in the international sphere. While our country has so far been an iceberg in the center of Europe obstructing the development of understanding and the European process, in the future it should turn into one of the most active initiators of drawing closer on the continent of Europe.

On the subject of membership within the Warsaw Pact, he said that our aim is to go from a bloc understanding of European security over to a democratic and pluralistic understanding, and emerging from this is the requirement to abolish military blocs. This cannot be achieved with unilateral action but with general agreement between all participants of the all-European process.

Jiri Dienstbier went on say that he favors CEMA being fundamentally changed from an institution for mutual exchange of outdated goods to an institution which will stimulate the most modern technical development.

In his words, an agreement will be reached shortly between the Czechoslovak and Soviet side concerning the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Czechoslovakia.

On the possibility of the unification of Germany, Minister Dienstbier said among other things that this question must be solved within the process of unification of Europe.

Relations with Israel

LD1412165189 Prague CTK in English 1342 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Prague Dec 14 (CTK)—[passage omitted]

Asked by the Israeli television about the development of Czechoslovak-Israeli relations and Czechoslovakia's attitude to the situation in the Middle East, Jiri Dienstbier said Czechoslovak-Israeli relations would be settled soon in a way different from the past. "As regards the situation in the Middle East, Czechoslovakia will proceed from the principle that problems in that part of the world must be settled through a dialogue and if possible with ever lesser violence".

Statement on '68 Rehabilitation

LD1512114289 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Jiri Dienstbier, minister of foreign affairs, has issued the following statement: The Czechoslovak Government, Federal Assembly, as well as representatives of five states of the Warsaw Pact, have recently designated the entry of troops into Czechoslovakia in August 1968 as an act of unlawful interference in the internal affairs of the sovereign Czechoslovak state. The events which followed after 21 August 1968 are now being principally reassessed. We consider therefore, all the former employees of the foreign service who were affected in various ways because of their political attitudes in connection with 1968, fully politically rehabilitated. Those who were dismissed from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, can apply again for work in the Czechoslovak Foreign Service if they are interested and according to their qualifications.

Dienstbier Biography

AU1212151889

[Editorial Report] Under the headline "Biographies of New Government Members," Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 11 December on page 3 publishes brief biographies, totaling 1,300 words, of the nine newly appointed members of the CSSR Federal Government. In addition to the biographies of deputy premiers Bursky, Carnogursky, Dlouhy, and Komarek and the biographies of ministers Klaus, Martinko, Miller, and Sacher, all of which are covered, the RUDE PRAVO feature includes the following biography of Jiri Dienstbier, the new minister of foreign affairs:

"Jiri Dienstbier was born on 20 April 1937 in Kladno. He graduated from the Faculty of Philosophy of Charles University. Between 1958 and 1969 he worked for Czechoslovak Radio as foreign political commentator. He spent three years as correspondent in the Far East and in the United States. After 1969 he worked as archivist [dokumentator], night watchman, and stoker. He was member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia between 1958 and 1969.

"Prior to 1969 he commented on foreign political affairs also in Czechoslovak Television, LITERARNI NOVINY, REPORTER, and other periodicals. In 1985 he wrote a book of essays on the problem of relations in Europe and commented on foreign political events in the independent press. He maintains copious international contacts with Government representatives and independent peace movements in various countries.

"Most recently he acted as the press spokesman for the Coordinating Committee of the Civic Forum. He is without political affiliation."

The biography of Premier Calfa, is published by RUDE PRAVO separately, on page 1.

Deputy Premier Carnogursky on Political Position

AU1112151889 Vienna KURIER in German 11 Dec 89 p 3

["Exclusive" interview with CSSR First Deputy Premier Jan Carnogursky by Jana Patsch in Prague "shortly before his swearing in": "I Am a Politician Only Temporarily...."]

[Text] KURIER: How would you describe your political position?

Carnogursky: I am a convinced Christian Democrat, but at the moment I do not yet belong to any party.

KURIER: You are taking over political functions, even though the "Civic Forum" and the Slovak version "Public Against Violence" have repeatedly stresed that they are not striving for any.

Carnogursky: I have yielded to the pressure from below. I consider my position to be only temporary until free elections, which will take place next summer at the latest.

KURIER: What will your country look like in 2 years?

Carnogursky: It will be a democratic constitutional state in a civilized Europe.

KURIER: ...and from the economic point of view?

Carnogursky: There should be a free market economy and equal rights for all forms of ownership.

Premier Calfa Interviewed on Situation

LD1212193289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Interview with Federal Premier Marian Calfa by unidentified correspondent; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Society now needs calm, above all. I think that the overwhelming majority of the people in our country desire it. However, they also want guarantees and the premier can contribute to this.

[Calfa] These days we can hear big words and slogans daily in society. I can understand this. But guarantees are not given by the proclamation of big words or slogans but by hard daily work on one side; and on the other side, all these guarantees must be carried out legally so we can live in a legal state. Only in this way will we be able to secure a high quality and humane attitude of citizen to the state.

[Correspondent] How do you view a new president?

[Calfa] My idea of a new president is that of a wise man, a leader of these peoples. I saw our first president in this light. It would have to be a man who would will our two nations together, who will be seen by both our nations, by our entire country as an authority, a humane and

professional authority. To put it simply, he will be a man of whom we could say it is our mr president.

[Correspondent] What about your credo?

[Calfa] It is very simple, to work in such a way that I need not be ashamed of my work; to work in such a way that I create confidence by its results, not questions; to work in such a way that I can always look back and say: We have done good work.

Calfa, Others Discuss Security Policy

LD1312001389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Federal Premier Marian Calfa, together with first deputy premiers Valtr Komarek and Jan Carnogursky, received deputy federal ministers of the interior in Prague today. Marian Calfa briefed the Interior Ministry leadership on the conception of the government regarding the security policy of the state. The main task is to fully adjust the activity of the ministry and the entire national security corps to the new social conditions in which the monopoly of one political party has been constitutionally abolished.

Defense Spokesman Explains Army Units' Movements

LD0212190889 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] [Announcer] Here is a particularly important news item, which is reported for us now by Colonel Stanislav Pohoral, the press spokesman of the Federal Ministry of National Defense:

[Begin Pohoral recording, in Czech] Representatives of Public Against Violence have drawn the Federal Ministry of National Defense's attention to a report that large units of the Czechoslovak People's Army are allegedly making their way towards Bratislava from the Eastern Military District, and they have asked for an explanation of this fact.

I am authorized to announce that this report is not based on the truth. According to information from responsible organs of the command of the Eastern Military District, on Saturday, 2 December 1989 a total of 229 military trucks of the Praga-V3S and Tatra 138 models with their service crews have been mobilized over the whole territory of the Slovak Socialist Republic. The aim of these truck convoys is to transport equipment belonging to the People's Militia to Czechoslovak People's Army equipment dumps. In keeping with the capacity of the loads being transported, the size of the individual convoys has been set between five and 15 trucks. In view of the nature of the loads, professional servicemen are in charge of the trucks.

The transport of these People's Militia weapons to the military equipment dumps began on Saturday at 1000 [0900 GMT] and it is expected to end in the early morning hours of 3 December Sunday, 1989.

In order to carry out this task, on Saturday a convoy totaling seven military trucks set out in the direction from Senica to Bratislava.

I want to stress that only logistical units are involved, and I take this opportunity to point out once again that various alarming reports about the alleged misuse of military units to deal with internal political problems are disinformation.

The members of the Czechoslovak People's Army reject all rumors aimed at undermining the unity of the Army and people. [end recording]

[Announcer] That was the Federal Ministry of National Defense's press spokesman speaking.

Reportage on Planned Soviet Troop Withdrawal

Soviet Commander Cited

AU0412131689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Dec 89 p 7

["zr"-signed report in the "24 Hours Abroad" column]

[Text] Some 75,000 members of the Soviet Army will leave the CSSR once and for all. According to REUTER, this was declared by Lieutenant General Eduard Vorobev, commander of the Central Group of Soviet Forces in the CSSR, in an interview for British Television on Thursday [30 November]. He did not mention any exact date, however. He stated, furthermore, that Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia have in recent days limited their activities outside the barracks so as not to provoke the local population.

Vorobev Interview Denied

AU0412131989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Dec 89 p 7

["zr"-signed report in the "24 Hours Abroad" column]

[Text] A spokesman for the Central Group of Soviet Forces in the CSSR has informed RUDE PRAVO by telephone that Lieutenant General E. Vorobev, commander of this group, had spoken neither to a correspondent of the REUTER agency nor to any other journalist. RUDE PRAVO published the report of the REUTER agency yesterday in this column.

Johanes Names Troop Status Panel Head

LD0512223789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Today, Minister of Foreign Affairs Jaromir Johanes appointed his deputy, Evzen Vacek, as head of a group of Czechoslovak experts at the talks with the USSR on the temporary stay of the Soviet troops on our

territory. At the same time he proposed to the Soviet side that experts of the two countries should meet in Prague as soon as possible.

Soviets Given Troop 'Departure' Note

LD0812163189 Prague CTK in English 1545 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 8 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Deputy Foreign Minister Evzen Vacek received the Soviet Charge d'Affaires Marat Kuznetsov here today.

A note was handed over to the Soviet side suggesting to open in Prague negotiations of Soviet and Czechoslovak experts on legal, military, political, financial, and other aspects of the deployment and departure of the Soviet troops temporarily deployed on the territory of Czechoslovakia in the shortest possible time.

Talks Be Held 'Very Shortly'

AU1312205089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Dec 89 p 2

[Josef Vlcek report: "When Will There Be Permanent Visa-Free Travel With Austria?; On Czechoslovak Citizens' Traveling Abroad"]

[Excerpts] Prague (from our correspondent) — The Austrian side has responded positively to the Czechoslovak proposal to conclude an agreement on mutual visa-free travel. According to Austrian press reports, this Czechoslovak proposal has been welcomed by Alois Mock, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Austria. This was stated by Bronislav Kulawiec, director of the Consular Section at the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, at a news conference on Thursday [7 December]. [passage omitted]

Asked about alleged difficulties encountered by Soviet journalists traveling to the CSSR, B. Kulawiec said that Soviet journalists do not require a visa to travel to the CSSR. The whole matter has been examined by the Czechoslovak Embassy in Moscow, which has no information on any such case.

At the close of the news conference, Lubomir Marsik, spokesman for the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, informed journalists that a group of experts has started work at the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs on considering questions connected with the stay of Soviet troops on our territory. Apart from Foreign Ministry staff, other government departments are also represented in the group, such as the CSSR Ministry of National Defense. The group will very shortly meet with Soviet experts in Prague. The spokesman described as a topical task for Czechoslovak diplomacy the recalling of staff from Czechoslovak representative offices abroad who were appointed to their posts after reaching retirement age. He said that Czechoslovak representative offices abroad were operating normally.

Defense Ministry Spokesman on Measures for Army

LD0612221389 Prague CTK in English 2053 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 6 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Defence Ministry Spokesman Stanislav Pohoral acquainted journalists here today with Defence Minister Miroslav Vacek's order no. 28 of December 5, 1989 which contains measures in the Army following from the amendment to the Czechoslovak Constitution.

The order states that the provisions of formerly generally valid legal regulations, military regulations and orders which are at variance with the amendment to the Czechoslovak Constitution are not realized.

The selection and deployment of cadres should consistently follow from military-professional prerequisites and moral properties. The provision on the leading role of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, party nomenclatures and opinion of party organizations and political bodies on all cadre measures and of cadres is deleted from all normative acts on which the cadre work in the Czechoslovak People's Army is based.

The Czechoslovak defence minister also ordered to cancel the teaching of social science subjects at military colleges for the rest of the winter term.

Soldiers in active service and civilians who are not in contact with state secrets can privately travel abroad without a consent of their superiors. Those who come into contact with state secrets can travel abroad on the basis of a written consent of their superiors.

Asked whether the defence minister can be a civilian at present, Stanislav Pohoral pointed to the role of the president as commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces and the role of the Council of State Defence, the Federal Assembly and Defence-Security Committees of the two chambers of the Federal Assembly. "If we call for appointing experts to ministerial posts, there are no greater experts in controlling such a complex apparatus as the Army than soldiers", he stressed.

Speaking about the role of the Defense Ministry in the elaboration of the defence law, Stanislav Pohoral said that the Ministry elaborates the question connected with shortening the basic military service. The Ministry is also prepared for the legalization of a compensatory service.

More on News Conference

AU1112160789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Dec 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Change in the Military Oath"]

[Excerpts] Prague—Addressing a news conference in Prague on Wednesday [6 December] Colonel Stanislav Pohoral, spokesman for the CSSR Ministry of National

Defense, provided information on changes in the Czechoslovak People's Army which arise from the abolition of the constitutional article on the leading role of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. [passage omitted] Colonel Pohoral also mentioned that Army General Milan Vaclavik, former CSSR minister of national defense, continues to be part of the Czechoslovak People's Army, in harmony with valid regulations. (He is at present hospitalized in the Central Military Hospital with problems of neurological nature.)

Defense Minister on Military Service, Parades

LD1512121289 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Colonel General Miroslav Vacek, minister of national defense, said that the Czechoslovak People's Army is prepared to start shortening basic military service as of 2 January next year. He said further a today's press conference in Prague that the Army Command has decided to reduce recall of reserve forces next year by 90,000. Following an agreement with the federal government, the minister of national defense will propose that next year military parades will not be staged on the 45th anniversary of the liberation of our country so that the funds saved can be spent on improving the living environment in the two capitals.

Cardinal Tomasek Supports Havel for President

LD1412124389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] We have just received a statement from Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek, archbishop of Prague and Czech primate, on the current situation in Czechoslovakia. We will share it now:

Dear brothers and sisters in Christ throughout Czechoslovakia, all my fellow citizens longing for human dignity:

We are living through very important and happy, though also difficult, days in our homeland. Because of this very important moment during which the fate of our beautiful country and its inhabitants for many future decades is being resolved on a democratic and dignified basis, I once again have the courage, and feel it my duty to turn to all of you thus, as I did once before following the events of 17 November, immediately after my return from the beatification of St Agnes of Bohemia in Rome.

I am also encouraged to do this by the telephone calls I have been receiving, not only from believers, but also from atheists; not only from older fellow citizens, but also from the young, and above all from students. They ask me why I am not a candidate for the office of President. I have a very important role, primarily a spiritual one, as the archbishop, and I am not a candidate for the office of president. However, I would be pleased to take part in the election of the president of our Republic in our present conditions, which are worthy of our electorate. Above all, I do this with prayer, asking God to enlighten all my fellow citizens to make the correct choice, to put a bold and final end to any half-measures of the past.

Second, I will participate by indicating my own selection, which I will now tell you: Mr Vaclav Havel, fighter for rights, justice, and truth, not only for himself, but for each one of us.

Since 1977, Mr Havel, as the foremost worker in Charter 77, fought for that which many of us dreamed of only tenatively and which is now beginning to be realised for the good of us all. I give him my thanks and I assure him that I continually follow his unceasing efforts—which up to now has been linked with prison, with every possible humiliation not just of his person, but also of his ancestors—with my prayers and the wish that he will be able to implement his slogan, which completes with a significant element the slogan of President Tomas Garrigue Masaryk, that in the office of president of our dear Republic, he will be able successfully to implement, for the benefit of us all, his slogan: Truth and love prevail.

Signed: Frantisek, Cardinal Tomasek

Archbishop of Prague

Czech primate

Vaclav Havel on Presidential Possibilities

Gives Interview

LD1412194289 Warsaw Television in Polish 1830 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Interview with Vaclav Havel by unidentified reporter; date and place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Yesterday Czechoslovakia's Federal Assembly did not manage to take a stance on the method of electing the country's new president. We know today that the general referendum favored by Czechoslovakia's Communist Party will not be held. This is the result of the roundtable deliberations attended by representatives of all of Czechoslovakia's most important political groupings. They decided that a presidential candidate cannot belong to any party. The proposed referendum was pronounced to be in conflict with Czechoslovakia's political tradition. Parliament will elect the head of state. It was also decided at the roundtable that the new president will hold office only until new democratic elections. Commentators stress that the results of the delibrations are undoubtedly a victory for Vaclav Havel's team.

[Correspondent] Adam Michnik has said that you are not a politician, but despite this you are a presidential candidate and the most (?popular) one in Czechoslovakia, the most authoritative.

[Havel, in Czech with superimposed Polish translation] [Words indistinct] everything I do as a citizen, I do

because it is my conscious duty and not because I want to become a professional politician. I am a writer and I want to watch my plays in the theater. If I have become a presidential candidate, it is not my fault. Circumstances are to blame—those circumstances beyond our control which rule everything. They can be blamed for the course of events.

If I were to become president, I would be a genuinely working president, even for a transitional period, until the free elections. They will elect a national assembly, which should ultimately elect a president. If I were to be president, I would be somebody who would be the (?caretaker) of the transitional period, who would see that calm was maintained for everybody, that outraged emotions were calmed down, somebody who would try to see that everything went toward order and free elections, so that this goes as well as it has up to now.

Holds Phone-in Program

LD1412210189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1525 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Phone-in program on presidential elections with Vaclav Havel—live]

[Excerpts] [Introductory passage omitted] [Announcer] Do you think that the guarantees for our country's democracy and freedom will rest first and foremost in free elections, or do any other guarantees also exist?

[Havel] Democracy is something that must be guaranteed by an enormous complex of things: by the Constitution, legislation, and by people who implement the Constitution and legislation. It must also be guaranteed by a kind of worthy formation of plurality. In this respect political culture vanished over 40 years but now it is being revived quickly, at a dizzying pace. But this political culture is still in its infancy. Political parties will start forming now and various political forces will be entering the election struggle. There is a danger of various mutual accusations and it will be very difficult to maintain the nature I already mentioned.

As far as the guarantees are concerned, then there must, of course, be international guarantees. There must be guarantees that here within this state the crumbling or simply paralyzed totalitarian structures would not mobilize themselves for any subversive intrigues or dirty deeds, or for anything that might endanger this process. All this is interconnected, just as it is connected with the personnel appointments to various posts of state. We are well aware of the horrors that took place in the fifties and at the same time the Constitution did not contain any leading role of the Communist Party. We know that even though something is written on paper, it might not necessarily be valid in reality. To make it valid in reality the whole complex of interconnected guarantees must be built. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] I would like to interrupt our conversation for a moment and ask listeners for their questions. The first question, which is often repeated, a listener asks what your feelings were at the moment they announced you would be nominated as president.

[Havel] I talked about this for a very long time with people I care about, I talked about it for a long time. Well, in this fast revolution there has not been enough time for anything, really, but I tried to think about it as much as possible, to think about it with people who I cared about in the most difficult times of my life and who proved to be my good advisers. I talked about it with my wife, and I made the decision to accept the nomination in the conditions I talked about about 20 minutes before it was publicly announced.

Perhaps I should add one more thing I had not mentioned before. My nomination is conditioned by yet another important thing, namely that I would perform the role of a temporary or sort of working president, in close and friendly cooperation with Alexander Dubcek with whom I am in permanent contact, and with the movement against violence in Slovakia. They are all my good friends and the movement is some sort of a parallel of Civic Forum in the Czech lands. I would never allow anyone to drive a wedge between Dubcek and myself or between the Slovaks and myself. That would be a catastrophy for this country and for me personally. There were attempts to drive such a wedge between us, but I firmly believe that the attempts have failed.

[Announcer] Another question is from Josef Kolin from Sporilov. He asks if you are worried that the role of president, in view of the fact that it is also a diplomatic role, will be associated with a lot of untruth and lies, just because you fought for truth all your life.

[Havel] If I am at Prague Castle I will only speak the truth. Nothing can force me into the role of a liar. Prison did not get me there and the office of president cannot get me there either.

[Announcer] Another question from the Civic Forum broadcasts. I quote, now that you are on the radio allow me to ask a direct question: At one time you wrote a radio play whose first night you did not even hear, as you said in your interview. Pity. I hope that you will hear all your further first nights. I would only like ask you if you are going to type all your future texts on the typewriter that was confiscated by the Interior Ministry a while ago and which, as I hope, how now been returned to you.

[Havel] The Interior Ministry, out of all the confiscated things, returned only one, namely a computer it took away from me some years ago. Otherwise it did not return anything. What is involved are stacks and stacks and full cupboards of books, manuscripts, typewriters, and various other things. I have the impression however, that I will have something to write on, even if they do not return these things to me.

[Announcer] Listener Simon from Plzen asks what social economic formation you consider most suitable for further development of democratic Czechoslovakia.

[Havel] Presumably, this is asking whether I am for capitalism or socialism. Do I understand correctly?

[Announcer] Yes, naturally.

[Havel] I am not for capitalism in the sense in which it existed in Czechoslovakia previously because history cannot be turned back. I am not for socialism as it existed in Czechoslovakia in the past 40 years, because the word for me has always been connected with a totalitarian system, a totalitarian method of government. I am for the system, no matter what it is called—words do not matter so much and if they are too misused and hackneyed I prefer abandoning them and avoiding them—I am for the system that would depend on political plurality, democracy, which is a condition sine qua non for economic plurality. I think that there must be plurality of economic subjects, market mechanism, that it is a guarantee of any further prosperity of this country, and I think that it must be a state with much a higher degree of social security than the previous totalitarian system. Probably, we will have much to learn from Sweden and similar countries where the systems of social security and guarantee of social justice have been worked out and developed for decades.

As to form of ownership, I do not think it is decisive, but it should be some kind of mixed ownership, ranging from state ownership to joint stock ownership, cooperative, self-administration ownership, collective ownership to the private sphere. Personally, and now I am talking only for myself, and not for Civic Forum, I think that the sphere of smallholdings and so on, the sphere of small-scale enterprise works best when it is in private hands.

[Announcer] Another question: listener Benes asks what kind of presidential election you are advocating, the kind carried out by the Federal Assembly or that by means of peoples' referendum.

[Havel] I am for the kind of election carried out by the Federal Assembly, not because I am against a referendum or because on my behalf or on behalf of Civic Forum, I would be frightened of some kind of referendum, but because referendum is an institution that has no tradition in this country, that after 40 years of totality is extremely demand to prepare in 6 weeks; it will exhaust everybody, and the weeks involved are very important. New legislation has to be made, as well as a Constitution; structures have to be changed, political forces formed. Six weeks would be lost by some kind of strange presidential campaign. The president who would emerge from this campaign would be president for 5 years. I am very apprehensive as to the credit of this country abroad if because of this referendum, we elected a president who had to leave office again in 6 months or a year. I fear this very much and that is why, together with Civic Forum, I was very much in support of the idea that, at the moment there should be no referendum.

Otherwise, I have nothing against a referendum. In our Constitution the institution of referendum is anchored, but today the situation is such that people have not had freedom for 40 years, that they have been influenced by television for 40 years. The referendum could turn our completely randomly, according to who would speak on television most frequently, and so on. It seems to me that, although society is ripening very fast toward its freedom, it is not ripening as fast as to be able to afford such important things as referendum now. If the referendum were to elect a temporary president who would be in power up to the free election, nothing is at stake, but this one would be a president for 5 years, and we are afraid of this. [passage omitted]

PAV Movement Approves New Slovak Government

LD1212211289 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] The Coordination Committee of the Public Against Violence Civic Initiative [PAV] has expressed its preliminary standpoint on the new government. We present it in the form in which it was read out about an hour ago by Jan Budaj for Bratislava radio's news bulletin.

[Begin Budaj recording] First and foremost, we must note that the composition of the new government is in keeping with the composition about which we were briefed yesterday by Academician Cic, the person charged with forming the new government. We think—and we voiced this view yesterday, too, that some posts went to capable specialists. However, there are also ministries which were filled in a hasty way and ministries without a minister. The candidates for the posts which have so far not been filled, for example that of the minister of the interior and environment, minister of health and the post of minister and chairman of the people's control committee, will have to present their policies to the public. The public is also waiting for a speedy presentation of the policies of other ministers who were elected. And third, the Coordination Committee and the whole Slovak public are expecting a specific political, social, and economic program of the Slovak Government in the coming days.

As far as the representation of the PAV Coordination Committee in the new government is concerned, we agreed with the participation of engineer Vlado Ondrus, one of the members of the PAV Coordination Committee, who is in Academician Cic' government—a deputy premier in charge of the umbrella supervision of environmental problems. We also consider him to be an observer, who will give us direct reports on the situation in the Slovak government. In the future, the PAV, together with the entire Slovak public, will carefully follow the conduct of the new premier and the ministers of his government. We expect urgent legislative changes which will provide legal guarantees to the citizens in the period before democratic elections. We put forward specific proposals on these urgent decisions and we expect that new prime minister to meet these proposals in accordance with his promises. We expect an open

hand from the government. We expect the old ministerial apparatuses to be done away with. They hamper structural changes in individual ministries. We expect maximum expansion of the independence and action ability of the Slovak government vis-a-vis the federal government. We expect a new attitude to the relations between the government and citizens. We expect bold, unconventional decisions, new political and economic space for each active citizen. We expect the barriers which prevent entrepreneurship and the development of a market economy to be pulled down. We expect a thorough reassessment of the professional abilities of the national committee apparatus at all levels—there is no room there for incompetent people. The National Committee apparatus should, of course, be subordinated to the Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] government. Under the Ministry of the Interior and Environment, where it has been until now, it is unable to function in accordance with the SSR government's policy. [end recording]

Biographies of New Slovak Ministers

LD1412112689 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] We will now give you brief information about the individual members of the new government of the Slovak Socialist Republic:

Milan Cic, academician, premier of the government, is 57 years old, of Slovak nationality, and is a member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ]. Until last year he was director of the State and Law Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences and in the same year he became minister of justice. In 1970 he was expelled from the CPCZ, but his membership was reinstated retrospectively.

Vladimir Lexa, doctor, first deputy premier of the government, chairman of the Slovak Commission for Planning and Scientific-Technical Development is 52 years old, of Slovak nationality, member of the CPCZ. He was appointed to the post of deputy premier and chairman of the commission in April this year. At the same time he is a lecturer at the Law Faculty of Commenius University in Bratislava.

Jozef Markus, doctor of sciences, first deputy premier of the government, temporarily entrusted with heading the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, is 45 years old, of Slovak nationality, and without political affiliation. At the moment he is a research worker of the prognosis institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences and takes an active part in educating the young generation.

Vladimir Ondrus, deputy premier of the government, is 47 years old, of Slovak nationality, without political affiliation. He worked in the research institute for social development and labor as head of the department of social questions of the environment, and within the framework of the movement of Slovak protectors of nature was a contributor to the document, Bratislava Speaks Out [Bratislava Nahlas].

Alexandr Varga, doctor, deputy premier of the government, is 47 years old, of Hungarian nationality, and without political affiliation. In 1968-70 he was secretary of the Central Committee of the Csemadok association of Hungarian workers in Czechoslovakia. Within the framework of scientific-research activity as a historian he worked on systematic research of the history of communications and telecommunications in Slovakia, and recently he also worked on research into the nationalities question in Slovakia.

Jan Ducky, minister of industry, is 45 years old, of Slovak nationality, member of the CPCZ. From 1983 he has been working at the Ministry of Industry, first as director of the trade department, and since 1985 in the post of deputy minister.

Michal Kuvac, minister of finance and wages, is 59 years old, of Slovak nationality, without political affiliation. Since 1971 he has worked in a Bratislava branch of the Czechoslovak State Bank. Since 1978 he has also been a scientific research worker in the Central Institute of National Economic Research.

Ivan Steis, minister of construction and the building industry, is 55 years old, of Slovak nationality, and member of the CPCZ. He was appointed minister of construction and the building industry in October last year.

Ivan Vesely, minister of forestry, water economy and the wood- processing industry, is 55, of Slovak nationality, and member of the CPCZ. For a number of years he has worked in the enterprise water management construction, of which he was also a director. He was in charge of securing the construction of development investment projects of water management.

Miroslav Belansky, minister of agriculture and food, is 48 years old, of Slovak nationality, and member of the CPCZ. He is an experiences management worker in agriculture and last worked as director of the state enterprise agricultural supplies and purchases.

Ladislav Kosta, doctor, minister of justice, is 60 years old, of Slovak nationality, and without political affiliation. In 1968 he was elected member of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee and leading secretary of the Slovak Socialist Republic National Front Central Committee, but for his attitudes at that time he was expelled from the CPCZ, all his positions were taken from him, and he was excluded from scientific research activity at the Slovak Academy of Sciences. Most recently he has been head of the report section on trade policy in Czechoslovak metallurgy mines.

Ladislav Chudik, minister of culture, is 65 years old, of Slovak nationality, and without political affiliation. Since 1944 he has been a member of the Slovak National Theater. For many years he has been a pedagogue at Bratislava Musical Arts College.

Matej Rolko, minister of trade and tourism, is 57 years old, of Slovak nationality, without political affiliation. He has been working in the trade sector for almost 35 years and most recently has been economic-technical deputy director of the state enterprise (Dovotex).

Ladislav Kovac, doctor of sciences, minister of education, youth, and physical training, is 57 years old, without political affiliation. He is an expert of world standing in the area of biochemistry, genetics, and neurobiology. He has worked as a guest professor in many countries, most recently at Buenos Aires University in Argentina. Since 1977 he has worked in the Animal Physiology Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences as head of the department of bio-energetics.

Maria Kolarikova, doctor, minister temporarily in charge of heading the People's Control Committee, is 53 years old, at Slovak nationality, and without political affiliation. Since 1968 she has worked in the institute of economic law of the state arbitration in Bratislava as an independent research worker, and is concentrating in particular on questions of econoMic accountability and problems of economic relations in investment building.

Czech Government Issues 17 Nov Event Communique

LD1412211989 Prague CTK in English 2021 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 14 (CTK)—The reconstructed government of the Czech Socialist Republic dissociated itself from the joint statement of the federal, Czech and Slovak Governments on the events of November 17, 1989, said a communique from today's session of the Government of the Czech Socialist Republic.

The police action against the student demonstration was ungrounded, unlawful and brutal. It was a justified signal for people's protest against the violation of the basic human rights and the administrative bureaucratic system of management.

The government will ensure the prevention of the misuse of the means of power in the future, the communique said.

New Prague Mayor, National Council Elected

LD0812212789 Prague CTK in English 2009 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 8 (CTK)—Josef Hajek was elected Mayor of Prague after Zdenek Horcik resigned the post today.

At a meeting of the Prague National Committee, Zdenek Horcik announced the resignation of the 18-member National Committee Council. A new council was elected, with four members being independent, four Socialist Party members, four People's Party members and six Communist Party members. New Chairwoman of the Committee of People's Control is also independent.

Outgoing Mayor Zdenek Horcik distanced himself from the police action against students on November 17, stressing that none of the national committees in the Czechoslovak capital had anything in common with instructing any units to take action against the students. He said that distancing oneself from the policy of the former Communist Party leadership does not take off anyone part of the responsibility for the whole situation. The party had decided matters that were not in its line and did not do the main thing, i.e. correctly assess the political situation in the country, he said.

Prague Conference Berates Party, Nominates Adamec

LD1012051589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Delegates attending a special municipal district conference of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] in Prague today reflected, among other things, on the current political and socialist situation. They also pointed at the insufficient fulfillment of economic tasks and stressed the need for a greater efficacy of primary party organizations. In this connection they criticized unpreparedness for action, above all of the CPCZ Central Committee, which has failed to react speedily to the crisis events of the current days when the party has been pushed into passivity. Those speaking in the debate at the special municipal district conference in Prague 9 today supported the demand that the CPCZ part ways speedily and consistently with all who have compromised themselves by their conduct.

The conference approved a proposal, which will be submitted to the competent bodies, that Ladislav Adamec, the former prime minister, stand as a candidate for the Republic's presidency.

Prague Communists Urge Referendum on Presidency

LD1212163689 Prague CTK in English 1336 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 12 (CTK)—The presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Prague city committee, in tune with many Prague communists, work collectives and in harmony with the demands of the Democratic Forum of Communists, stated here today that only a president elected directly by the people can have their confidence.

That is why they demand that preparations for a referendum on the future Czechoslovak president immediately start.

Reportage on Radio Appointments, Meetings

New Radio Director Appointed

LD0312173789 Prague CTK in English 1700 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 3 (CTK)—The new Czechoslovak Government today recalled Director General of Czechoslovak Radio Karel Kvapil and appointed Karel Stary, now radio correspondent in France, to replace him.

Also today, the government recalled Otto Cmolik from the post of CTK director general and appointed Ales Benda, now editor of the "MLADY SVET" magazine, to the post.

Party Radio Committee Meets

LD0812120789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] An extraordinary conference of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in Czechoslovak radio today discussed the political situation.

The conference appointed a seven-member action committee to coordinate Communists' work before the extraordinary party congress.

The all-enterprise committee and the auditing commission of the party in radio have been abolished.

The conference's resolution further requests the relevant bodies to disband the people's militias and to abolish primary party organizations in radio so that Communists participate in political activity in conditions equal to those enjoyed by other political parties, movements, and structures, including civil initiatives.

The resolution also demands a speedy adoption of a law on Czechoslovak radio which should clearly state that in a state mass medium political parties and initiatives, with the exception of the trade union organization, should not exercise influence in an organized way.

Director on Medium's Role

LD0812145789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1400 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Karel Stary, the new central director of Czechoslovak Radio, spoke to journalists today about the role and position of Czechoslovak Radio in the topical political development.

He said the foremost task is establishing a managerial structure reflecting the needs of a modern mass medium. He also called for establishing a higher supervisory body to oversee the impartiality of broadcasting.

All political parties, movements, groupings, and organizations, integrating into the developing democratic system in our country, must be given an opportunity to express their views on radio.

Karel Stary said that Civic Forum broadcasts will continue until its own representatives ask for the program to be discontinued; the radio would renew the broadcasts at any time if necessary.

Commission To Investigate Past Role

LD1212193789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1800 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] The new Czechoslovak Radio leadership, and the Civic Forum from the ranks of its employees, is aware of the great importance of radio broadcasting in forming a political and moral atmosphere in society. It has therefore decided to reexamine, in an all-round and competent manner, the contribution made by radio broadcasting during the last 20 years in support of a policy of normalization of the former political and state leadership. Already today, it is obvious that Czechoslovak radio's former leadership, which was recalled, as well as all previous leaderships which controlled the radio in the period of normalization, bear their share of responsibility for their coparticipation in the degeneration of civic, cultural, and moral values in society.

During 1969-70, the Czechoslovak radio leadership enthroned after the illegal intervention in Czechoslovakia by five states on 21 August 1968 carried out a repressive political purge of radio employees. Vetting commissions illegally forced several hundred of their colleagues to leave the radio. This act of political repression will be thoroughly investigated and the Czechoslovak radio leadership will seek a way of softening its consequences, how to provide a chance of work to the employees who were then persecuted, and who will show interest in this cooperation. The radio leadership will set up a commission comprising both present and former radio employees which will, in cooperation with the Radio Civil Forum, adopt away of apology and a remedy to the injustices. The new radio leadership and the Czechoslovak Radio Civic Forum would like to assure listeners that many of the present radio employees are honest, professionally able, independent—from the civic point of view—and who are aiming their efforts at renewing the good name of their establishment. In cooperation with a wide spectrum of listeners and with all political forces who are striving for democracy and pluralism in this country, it will aim its efforts at Czechoslovak radio, in the shortest possible time, again finding its place in creating new democratic principles in society, which is renewing itself and which has, together with the new government of national understanding, set off for the preparation for free elections.

The Czechoslovak radio leadership and the Czechoslovak Radio Civic Forum want to ensure peace for responsible and imptorant work for all employees. It rejects the division of people according to their political principles on which the government of national understanding is based. All measures which have either been adopted or which are being drawn up, are aimed at the fact that these leadership members who were active

creators of the policy of normalization and who are guilty of the aforementioned political repressions had, or will have, to consider whether the holding of their posts is acceptable.

Prague Gathering Supports Civic Forum Demands

LD1312000489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] About 3,000 citizens gathered at the Old Town Square in Prague today and by their signatures supported the demands of the Civic Forum which were expressed by the spokesman of its coordination center in Prague 1, Jana Rindlova. The demands include renaming Red Army Square as Jan Palach Square, and the resignation of the deputies of the national committee of Prague city and the district national committee of Prague 1, which is being substantiated, above all, by the fact that the elected representatives of the people of this district have responsibility for the massacre on Narodni Trida on Friday, 17 November. After the end of the referendum, the citizens discussed, in particular, that it is necessary to quickly set up further Civic Forum, optimally within the circle of Citizens' Committees.

Urbanek Addresses 'Another' Prague Demonstration

LD1412200889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Another demonstration in Prague today was called to take place at the Vitava River embankment where in the past not many demonstrations have taken place. Antonin Langer has a report:

[Begin recording] [Langer] I do not recall so many rank-and-file, honest Communists ever in the past coming to protest against the policy of its supreme organ between the congresses—as happened today in front of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee building at the Ludvik Svoboda embankment in Prague. People from Prague enterprises, factories, and offices came here. You can also listen to the views and demands of their spokesmen.

[Unidentified speaker] This Central Committee no longer represents our primary organization and bears substantial responsibility for the crisis in the party and society. We are convinced that this is not only our experience.

[Langer] At the beginning Karel Urbanek, general secretary of the party, spoke. He said that the cardinal question is the question of the election of the president. He expressed himself fully in favor of electing the president by popular referendum.

One of the co-organizers of this demonstration in front of the CPCZ Central Committee building today is the Democratic Forum of Communists. Its spokesman Rudolf Prevratil is with me at the microphone. What do you think the extraordinary CPCZ Congress should tackle above all?

[Prevratil] Above all and as a matter of crucial importance: the radical renewal of the party and the introduction of democracy in the party because without this the party will not be able to function in a pluralistic democratic society. Without this, the adoption of any steps or slogans lacks sense because we will not be able to carry out these programs. The Communist Party must become democratic. [end recording]

'Hundreds of Thousands' Attend Prague Rally

LD1412190389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Report by Prague Radio correspondent Rudolf Erhart from Wenceslas Square, Prague]

[Text] Long live Havel, or Havel to the Castle—these are the slogans to be heard here on Wenceslas Square this evening. Attending the rally are people supporting Civic Forum and the strike committees, as well as teachers and staff of Prague's university departments. Originally the rally was to have been held only on the top half of Wenceslas Square, but I can say that all of Wenceslas Square has been filled right to the lower end by hundreds of thousands of people, many of whom, of course, are students.

The students are here to demonstrate above all their dissatisfaction at the complicated processes of seeking the truth in the enquiry into the events of 17 November 1989 on Narodni Trida, and of electing the president of Czechoslovakia. Many wise words have been spoken here today, particularly those of Professor Frantisek Cerny, the newly elected dean of the Charles University Philosophical Faculty. Among the students' main objections to a referendum and to the direct election of a president are the fact that it would mean a violation of the constitutional and legal relations of the highest bodies of the state, and would be a move in the direction of changing the whole system into a presidential-style republic.

In addition it would create a problem that would be almost impossible to resolve from the point of view of constitutional relations between the Czech and Slovak nations, which, under the constitutional law on the Czechoslovak federation, rule out the possibility of one of the nations imposing its will on the other, and it is clear that in a direct election, the people or members of the Czech nation, who are more numerous, would definitely have a numerical advantage.

The rally has been addressed in turn by many speakers, including workers' representatives, such as [name indistinct], and as you can hear for yourselves in the background to my report, support for Vaclav Havel this evening here on Wenceslas Square has been unequivocal.

The rally has been taking place in an organized and very disciplined and proper way, without excesses of any kind.

Students' Coordinating Strike Committee Meets

Strike To Continue

LD1012232189 Prague CTK in English 2156 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 10 (CTK) - "The strike continues". It was decided by representatives of Czechoslovakia's universities at a session of the students' coordinating strike committee here tonight.

The main reasons for this decision are the imbalanced development of the political situation in various parts of the country and the abolition of the leading role of the Communist Party only as a matter of form. The new government has not yet been formed in Slovakia. Many people who bear responsibility for the present crisis still remain in the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee. The parliamentary commission investigating the interference on November 17 has not yet reached the expected results. These are the main arguments of students mentioned at today's session. Therefore they have decided to continue the strike and end it according to the development of the internal political situation in the country.

The students' coordinating committee also took stand on the candidature of Vaclav Havel for Czechoslovak president. It unanimously voiced support for the proposal of the Civic Forum.

More on Strike Continuation

LD1212163389 Prague CTK in English 1137 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Bratislava Dec 12 (CTK)—The coordinating committees of Czech and Slovak universities have decided at a meeting of the national coordinating committee in Prague to continue the strike, said a statement of the Slovak coordinating committee.

The inquiry into the circumstances of the brutal action on November 17, 1989 has not yet brought any visible results. The commission meets with concealment and distortion of facts. There are attempts to liquidate archive documents, not only the evidence immediately concerning the Prague events but all serious documents on the background of the development of Czechoslovak society, the statement stressed.

It pointed out that the committee agrees with the composition of the Czechoslovak and Czech governments and supports them, together with the Civic Forum and the Public against Violence, but continues to expect the appointment of the Slovak government and the election of the Czechoslovak president. It supports the candidate of the Civic Forum and the Public against Violence for the post of President Vaclav Havel.

Human Rights Committee Session Reported

LD0712114289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] The committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation, meeting in Prague today, is evaluating its activity to date and the current internal-political situation.

The committee's chairman, Zdenek Dienstbier pointed out that in the past few months not all initiatives of the committee have been taken seriously by the central bodies who, moreover, responded to them inadequately.

Also present at the enlarged session is Prof Jiri Hajek, chairman of the Czechoslovak Helsinki Committee and former foreign minister.

Demonstrations Mark 41st Human Rights Anniversary

Prague Rally

LD1012011689 Prague CTK in English 2152 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 9 (CTK)—One year has passed since the rally in Skroupa Square in Prague commemorating the 41st anniversary of the Declaration of Human Rights, a Civic Forum statement published here today said, adding that this year's commemoration will take place under different political conditions.

Instead of a formerly planned meeting of signatories of the several sentences petition, a rally of Prague citizens will take place in Wenceslas Square on Sunday, December 10, at 1300 GMT, the statement said.

The Civic Forum called upon all forums outside Prague to organise similar rallies and meetings according to their capacities.

"Let the Civic Forums' meetings associate all places in the country in a chain of human togetherness, tolerance, faith, determination and solidarity", the statement said.

Chain Formed in Central Slovakia

LD1012010689 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2200 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Thousands of university and secondary school students and people of the towns of Banska Bystrica and Zvolen [in central Slovakia] formed a human chain on the road linking these two towns today. The participants thus showed their support for the students' movement and the Public Against Violence citizens' initiative. They were also marking Human Rights Day.

Gysi Receives CPSU's Yakovlev for Talks

LD1412201989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1950 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Chairman Dr Gregor Gysi met Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Berlin this evening. SED Deputy Chairman Wolfgang Berghofer and SED Executive member Hans-Joachim Willerding took part in the discussion. Present from the Soviet side was Ambassador Vyacheslav Kochemasov.

Discuss Relations

LD1512091289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0106 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The present situation within the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and the CPSU, and the processes of reshaping, democratization, and renewal of socialism in the GDR and the USSR, were the subject of a very open exchange of views during a meeting between SED Chairman Dr Gregor Gysi and Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Deputy SED Chairman Wolfgang Berghofer and SED Executive member Hans-Jochen Willerding were also present during the 4-hour talk yesterday evening in Berlin's Gaestehaus an der Spree. On the Soviet side, Ambassador Vyacheslav Kochemasov was present.

Dr Gysi made a critical analysis of the causes for the development of the present crisis in the party and in society. At the same time, he elucidated focal points for the future activity of the renewed party on the path to democratic socialism. As ADN learned later, the development of relations between the two parties and countries was assessed critically, in all openness. Thoughts on the correction of the mistakes that had been made, and new fields and possibilities were also discussed in this connection.

Aleksandr Yakovlev, who outlined the experiences of his party in the political and economic reform in the USSR, referred in particular to the fundamental importance of openness and democratization for these processes. The guest also explained that in the USSR considerable efforts are being made to fulfill on schedule all commitments to the GDR in the economy, science, and technology. Dr Gysi expressed his gratitude for this explanation, since economic relations with the USSR are vital to the GDR national economy. Both partners expressed satisfaction that their parties and countries are now, together, treading the path to a democratic, socialist society. The CPSU Politburo member stressed the great interest of the USSR in GDR sovereignty. The sovereignty of the GDR is one of the prerequisites for stability and peace in Europe. At the same time, the guest welcomed the development of closer relations between the GDR and the FRG, including a treaty-based community in the interests of the people in both states. The development of these relations must, however, take place within the European framework.

Soviet Officers Prevented Leipzig 'Bloodbath'

AU1412130089 Cologne Deutschland Network in German 1200 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] The Moscow Foreign Ministry cannot confirm statements made by Social Democratic Party Honorary Chairman Willy Brandt on the role of Soviet troops during events in Leipzig on 9 October. Quoting a spokesman for the Foreign Ministry in Moscow, the GDR news agency ADN reported that the ministry has no information about the intervention of Soviet military officers.

Brandt had said in a SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG interview that top Soviet liaison officers of the National People's Army had prevented a bloodbath during the demonstration in Leipzig on that day by ordering the tanks to stay in the barracks.

No Comment on Role

LD1412094989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0915 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—In response to a telephone inquiry from ADN concerning the role of Soviet officers during the events in Leipzig on 9 October, Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy in the Main Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, said it was not possible for him to comment on these statements by Willy Brandt, or even to confirm them.

He did not know that the Soviet troops were supposed to have intervened in the 9 October GDR events in any way.

Briefing on Kohl, Mitterrand Visits

LD1412173389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1553 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The forthcoming visits to the GDR by FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, and President of the French Republic Francois Mitterrand, will contribute to stability and security in Europe. This expectation was expressed today in Berlin by GDR Foreign Ministry representatives during a briefing.

The goal of the talks between the GDR and the FRG will be to set out the political and economic framework for the further shaping of cooperation, said acting spokesman for the Foreign Ministry Dr Denis Ruh. He indicated that specific agreements, including in the sphere of the economy, science and technology, environmental protection, tourism, and legal assistance are expected. The signing of the cultural working plan for 1990-91 is regarded as certain.

The state visit by Francois Mitterrand was the first visit by a head of state of one of the three Western major powers of the anti-Hitler coalition to the GDR. The

importance of the forthcoming meetings also derives from the the fact that Mitterrand is acting as EC president until the end of December, said Ambassador Werner Fleck, head of the West European Department of the Foreign Ministry. The diplomat said that acceptance of the invitation from acting State Council Chairman Professor Dr Manfred Gerlach by the French president, signaled the French side's concern that the changes in various socialist countries should not lead to destabilization of the situation in Europe.

Ambassador Fleck interpreted the French standpoint as contributing to overcoming the division of Europe and the shaping of relations on the continent in the 21st century. Mitterrand wants to see whether the GDR could be an honest and active partner in this, Fleck said. Bilateral relations have developed steadily since the 1970s and have reached a high level on the basis of the existing system of treaties.

Spokesman Cited on Talks With Kohl

LD1412174989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1549 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Government expects that the coming visit by Federal Chancellor Kohl will contribute to stability in relations between the GDR and the FRG and will make clear the responsibility of the two German states for peace in Europe. It will also set up a peacetime order across the systems on the continent. Government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer said this to journalists in Berlin today. As well as the discussion of international and bilateral issues, including the fashioning of a partnership based on treaties, an explanation of the reforms planned by the GDR Government will also be on the agenda. During the visit the political and economic framework for the further shaping of relations between the two states will be mapped out. It is assumed that specific steps will be prepared in order to achieve closer cooperation from 1990-91.

Meyer said that the GDR Council of Ministers discussed the issue of disbanding the Office for National Security at its session today. The roundtable, which made the relevant demand, will be officially informed of the decision made on Monday. The public will be informed afterward.

The work on securing the process of democratic renewal in the GDR will be nullified if there is violence, the government spokesman stated. Calm and common responsibility are urgently required. Citizens are called on to continue to exercise this. The government calls for all conditions for democratic renewal to be guaranteed with a view to the elections on 6 May.

On behalf of the government, Meyer thanked all citizens who at this time are making efforts to maintain production, supplies, services, energy supplies and transportation, as well as law and order. The Council of Ministers is resolved to take measures to guarantee the ability to function by state bodies. It is also a matter of the combines and enterprises working without hindrance. The authority of the directors of combines and factories must be recognized and strengthened.

Modrow Talks With FRG Economics Minister

LD1412181189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1643 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The two German states should fashion their cooperative relations in the first instance on a basis that gives their neighbors in East and West the feeling of security and confidence. Prime Minister Dr Hans Modrow stated this in Berlin this afternoon during talks with FRG Economics Minister Dr Helmut Haussmann at the end of his visit to the GDR. During his recent talks with the U.S. secretary of state, the leader gave a clear assurance that the United States is "very strongly" interested in the GDR's stability, Modrow said. He believes that all their neighbors feel the same. This measure of responsibility would also be brought up during the talks with Federal Chancellor Kohl.

The parties also held a short news conference. In response to a question from a television station on how the GDR will react to the current request by Federal Chancellor Kohl to drop the visa requirement and compulsory exchange for federal citizens before Christmas, Modrow replied that he will discuss this personally with the federal chancellor during his coming visit. Asked to do so at the start of the news conference by Hans Modrow, Dr Franz Bertele, who as head of the FRG's Permanent Mission to the GDR has taken part in all the negotiations, explained that the results have been "very positive and very specific." Minister Haussmann confirmed this and said that so far they have made great efforts and that in some areas preparatory work has already been done.

After the talks, Haussman said that economic cooperation is going on; this is illustrated by current examples. He pointed out small and medium-sized enterprises in particular, which are mainly high performers in areas such as construction and infrastructure, for example, telecommunications and road-building. Construction and repair enterprises are needed in both German states to offer their services for interesting joint environmental ventures. "We made very constructive efforts to perpare the talks between the federal chancellor and the prime minister and took an important step forward on this," he assessed. The minister announced the establishment of a joint economic commission in which many points are then to be discussed continuously.

In a short statement to the press, Foreign Trade Minister Dr Gerhard Beil pointed out that the exchange of goods achieved this year between the GDR and the FRG of 15 billion units of account is a good starting position for their plans for 1990. The small and medium-sized enterprises in the FRG with their internationally outstanding

knowledge can form a valuable supplement to automation plans and better balance in the GDR economy. Talks on the implementation of joint projects can begin in January or February.

Environment Minister, FRG Official Brief Press

LD1412224689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2005 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The expected increase in economic cooperation between the GDR and the FRG must also lead to less damage to the environment. The environment ministers of the GDR and the FRG, Dr Hans Reichelt and Prof Klaus Toepfer, stressed this to journalists this evening.

During an intensive exchange of opinions, they dealt with harmonizing legal regulations in both countries, the ministers said. Toepfer spoke in favor of shaping the process of granting permits in the GDR in a similar way to the process in his country. In this way they can harmonize environmental policy. The sphere of environmental protection can contribute directly to normality between the two German states, Minister Toepfer said.

There was a briefing on the formation of a permanent environmental commission of the two German states to deal with expanding the exchange of data as well as the building up of joint, and the use of existing, data banks.

The talks were continued in the evening.

In the course of the day Toepfer also met the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] Chairman Lothar de Maiziere. De Maiziere pointed to "the enormous difficulties in the GDR in mastering the tightrope act between people's great expectations of change, on the one hand, and the possibility of altering encrusted structures that have grown up over 40 years, on the other," Toepfer said in an interview with NEUE ZEIT that was prereleasd to ADN.

At the start of his 1-day visit to Berlin, Toepfer conferred with members of the provisional executive of the party in "Democratic Awakening." His interlocutors were the chairman, Wolfgang Schnur, the treasurer, Christiane Ziller, and the press spokesman, Rainer Eppelmann.

During the exchange, the CDU politician spoke in favor of increased environmental cooperation between the two German states.

Wolfgang Schnur pointed to the coming founding party congress of "Democratic Awakening" and explained its ideas on the ecological conversion of industrial society.

Economic Talks With FRG Begin

LD1412124989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1147 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Prof Dr Christa Luft, GDR vice premier responsible for economics, and GDR Foreign Trade Minister Dr Gerhard Beil met at midday today in Berlin with FRG Economics Minister Helmut Haussmann.

Haussmann has announced his three-stage plan to resurrect the GDR economy and negotiations on an investment protection agreement as possible topics for the talk. Mrs Luft expressed the GDR's interest in specific projects in areas such as infrastructure, environmental protection, and the manufacture of private cars and machine tools.

Before the talks began, Christa Luft and Helmut Haussmann expressed their satisfaction on the rapid convening of this meeting. A talk between Premier Modrow and Hausmann is also planned for the afternoon.

Further on Talks

LD1412183589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1538 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR and the FRG have agreed to the formation of a joint economic commission and a cooperation agreement. Both could be signed during Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl's visit in the coming week. The deputy prime minister responsible for the economy, Professor Dr Christa Luft, gave information on this after her talk with FRG Economics Minister Dr Helmut Haussmann on Thursday [14 December] to journalists in Berlin.

She said that there is "a complete list" for economic cooperation and mentioned areas such as automation technology, medical and measurement technology, and metallurgy. Mrs Luft drew attention to the bridge functions of both countries that could make access easier for the respective partner to the CEMA or the EC market.

Referring to an investment protection agreement, she said that the GDR Government has dealt with a draft in its first reading. Experts are now working on it. It will probably be sent back to the People's Chamber this year.

Dr Haussmann recalled in this connection that the GDR has undertaken guarantees even before such an agreement. In view of the known long periods of preparation for joint ventures and communal enterprises, one can only advise the medium-sized enterprises in the FRG to commence now. The FRG must lose no time. They spoke about all important issues of German-German economic cooperation and prepared intensively for the meeting between Modrow and Kohl, the Free Democratic Party politician said further.

Haussmann described it as important that there were very fundamental exchanges in this first talk on the perspectives of the economic reform in the GDR and the FRG conception on its integration into the EC. The FRG wants both, integration in Western Europe and opening for German-German economic cooperation. The economic commission and the cooperation agreement will be the framework for many individual

projects. That is the correct path, according to Haussmann, for German-German economic policy to develop "upward from below." Both interlocutors agreed that this first joint meeting was extremely fruitful.

FRG's Genscher on GDR Developments

LD1512092689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0543 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Increasingly closer relations between the two German states contribute to stability in Europe and serve the people. FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher emphasized this today in an exclusive interview, which the liberal-democratic newspaper DER MORGEN published today. "We Germans would be well advised to embed our fate in that of Europe. Anything that divides Europe also divides us, and anything that brings Europe together brings the Germans together, too," he said.

Current developments in the GDR, "in particular the courageous, responsible, and level-headed advocacy—by the citizens—of democracy, free elections, and the law-governed state, against abuse of power and tutelage," bring the two German states ever closer. Now the GDR people must decide freely on their political and social order. This includes whether they want a socialist or a market economic order. "We will respect every one of these developments. The Germans in the GDR need our help, but not our tuition," the foreign minister explained.

From the forthcoming meeting between Modrow and Kohl, he expects "concrete steps for cooperation, which have immediate results for the people." Hans-Dietrich Genscher hopes to meet his counterpart, Oskar Fischer, in February 1990 during the conference in Ottawa.

FRG Minister Meets With Democratic Awakening

LD1412131489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1155 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—FRG Environment Minister Klaus Toepfer met at the beginning of his 1-day Berlin visit today with members of the temporary executive of the nascent party "Democratic Awakening." The partners in the talk were Chairman Wolfgang Schnur, Treasurer Christiane Ziller, and press spokesman Rainer Eppelmann.

The Christian Democratic Union politician spoke in favor of intensified cooperation in environmental policy between the two German states. One element could be the setting up of a monitoring system for harmful substances that includes the deployment of mobile stations for air and water controls. It was stressed in the talk that it is not only a matter, however, of the gathering of data but of the working out of "therapies."

Wolfgang Schnur referred to the coming founding party congress of "Democratic Awakening" and explained, in particular, ideas on the ecological rebuilding of industrial society.

FRG Bundeswehr Planning Policies Viewed

AU1412123589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Dec 89 p 2

[Franz Knipping editorial: "Drop in Birthrate and Fighter 90"]

[Text] The spokesmen of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and the Greens in Bonn's Bundestag assessed Defense Minister Stoltenberg's presentation on the Bundeswehr planning in the 1990's as half-hearted and insufficient. The reproach was made against the background of two inseparably linked developments: the democratic changes in Europe's socialist countries as well as the disarmament steps they have initiated, the disarmament proposals they have submitted, and the readiness for disarmament they have demonstrated at the Vienna negotiations. What the opposition parties in Bonn expected and called for in view of the changed situation on our continent is a conclusive disarmament concept of the FRG Government.

However, such a concept is not in sight so far. Stoltenberg announced that the size of the Bundeswehr will be reduced from currently 495,000 to 420,000 active soldiers plus 50,000 reservists by 1995. If a result is achieved at the Vienna negotiations, he did not rule out a reduction to 400,000. This, however, he was told, is actually only a reaction to the fact that—as a result of the drop in birthrates due to the pill—the number of young men eligible for military service is declining anyway.

There are further indications of how difficult the Bonn Defense Ministry finds it to "take leave of the fixed enemy image, to overcome the thinking in terms of blocs, and to direct one's gaze to global requirement" (this is what FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU said recently). The military budget for 1990, which was adopted by parliament, sets a record with DM54.2 billion. Armament projects, which will devour billions of deutsche marks, have been started—such as the Fighter 90, the modernization of the Lance short-range missiles, and other similar projects. By the way, in view of all this it seems naive when in our country some groups call for the disbanding of the National People's Army and thus for the renunciation of defense.

The issue on the agenda is, of course, a far more comprehensive turning back of the armament spiral—in view of the common European home. In this respect, both German states have a key role. Therefore, Stoltenberg's statement that the field of defense policy must not be left out of intra-German dialogue, is to be welcomed. When, in addition, he signals readiness to comprehensively discuss security policy questions with the GDR within the framework of the existing alliances, one can

only say: Please, as soon as possible and not half-heartedly. Because: A community of treaties between the GDR and the FRG without mutually coordinated positions on questions of disarmament and security is hardly conceivable.

'Democracy Now' Presents Reunification Plan

LD1412125389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1126 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The citizens "Democracy Now" group has issued a clear rejection of an immediate unification of both German states. At an international news conference held in Berlin today, the initiative circle of the movement presented a "Three-stage Plan for National Unity." Spokesman Konrad Weiss stated that it is not desirable for any GDR citizen to be annexed at the moment by the FRG. That would certainly have unforeseen consequences for our country.

It is assumed in the plan that the borders formed after the second world war are inviolable. Unity could only be the result of a long process of mutual rapprochement, and political and social reforms in both German states. Such a process would have to take place nonviolently, with respect for existing treaty networks and international obligations in agreement with the Allied powers and with the cooperation of all European neighbors. In the view of "Democracy Now," the process of German unity should be linked with "clear disarmament steps in both states." "A unified Germany should be a demilitarized Germany," the three-stage plan states.

The increasing growth of German-national feelings during demonstrations in the GDR would quickly recede, in the view of Ludwig Melhorn, member of "Democracy Now," if these people realized that there is no chance of a speedy reunification. Neither the Allies nor the other European neighbors are interested in such a reunification. The three-stage plan is also intended to counteract a further drift toward nationalism and right-wing radicalism in the GDR.

The first stage of this initiative, which foresees among other things, free elections, a new constitution, the restoration of the Laender structure in the GDR, as well as social and sociopolitical reforms in the Federal Republic, concludes with the convening of a "German national assembly" consisting of citizens from both states. Steps toward restoring economic, tax, and finance policy unity are taken in the second stage. A merger into a confederation of states and the creation of a "dual German citizenship" is foreseen. The third stage would be introduced with the signing of a European peace treaty. This could be followed by a referendum on political unity in a "Confederation of German Laender."

Fishing Grounds for FRG Fishermen Extended

AU1512120689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Dec 89 p 2

[ADN report: "GDR Extended Fishing Grounds for FRG Fishermen in Luebeck Bay"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Government has extended the area in the Luebeck Bay in which FRG fishermen are permitted to fish, in line with an agreement concluded between the GDR and the FRG on 29 July 1974, to 11 degrees eastern longitude. Thus, a request by Schleswig-Holstein Minister President Bjoern Engholm has been honored.

Modrow Talks With French Commission Chairman

LD1412140589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1635 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Premier Dr Hans Modrow met for talks in Berlin today with Jean Francois-Poncet, chairman of the Economics Commission of the French Senate.

It was subsequently reported that Dr Modrow outlined the restructuring process in the GDR to his guest. Francois-Poncet, formerly French foreign minister, expressed sympathy and support for the reform process in the GDR. He said he hoped that this development will proceed peacefully and that stability in the country will be maintained. This is important for stability and security in Europe.

Relations With Israel Open for Discussion

LD1412204689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1830 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In an interview with ADN today, Dr Heinz-Dieter Winter, GDR deputy foreign minister, reasserted the GDR's readiness to talk to Israel about opening diplomatic relations. However, at the same time he made it clear that such a step will not be directed against the GDR's good relations with other states in the Near and Middle East. No contradiction would be seen between such a step and the GDR's support for the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

In response to the question of whether the GDR is prepared to share moral blame for the crimes of fascism, he pointed to the GDR's great responsibility for ensuring that fascism never rises again. He did not know about Israel's demand for over $500 million in compensation from the GDR that has been circulated in various media. Dr Winter stressed that the GDR has fulfilled all the reparations obligations in the Potsdam Declaration. "From our point of view, the issues of reparations, to whatever state, no longer exists," he said. However, this did not rule out Jewish fellow citizens who had been

persecuted by the Nazis from having the right to solidarity and support. The GDR has in the past stated its readiness to discuss humanitarian aid.

Touching on the situation in the Middle East, Dr Winter made it clear that the situation surrounding Israel would not represent an obstacle to entering into talks with Israel. However, he pointed out that steps toward a just settlement in the Middle East would improve the political atmosphere.

Initial Contacts Made With IMF

LD1412184189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1740 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Geneva (ADN)—The first contacts have been made between the GDR and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). As ADN learned from the GDR's mission in Geneva, Ambassador Dr Peter Dietze held working talks with the IMF in the city on the Rhone today. He pointed out to IMF Director Junz the GDR's comprehensive foreign trade activities. The GDR has to realize more than 50 percent of its national income via the external market. The GDR's interest in the IMF's experience in economic, currency, and financial policy as a solid international organization, of which 152 countries of the world are currently members, is a result of this. The IMF representative welcomed this step on the part of the GDR and stated his readiness for an exchange of information. The contacts are to be continued.

Government Dissolves 'Combat Groups'

LD1512121289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1152 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Government has decided to terminate the activity of the combat groups. The Government Press and Information Office reported to ADN on Friday that all measures linked with this should be concluded by 30 June 1990

State Telephone Recording Facility Closed

LD1412174189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1544 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—The former Ministry for State Security's facility for tapping and recording phone calls installed at the Leipzig Bezirk Office for National Security (AfNS) was closed down today.

In the presence of members of the Leipzig Citizens' Committee, the people's policeman responsible for the building and two specialists from the telephone office, an employee of the AfNS in Leipzig sawed through the cables containing a total of 2,000 wires. The facility has not been in service since 30 October and all tape recordings were destroyed on that day.

The taping and recording apparatus will be taken to pieces under the supervision of the People's Police until 30 December and securely stored in a safe place in the state.

Thousands Demonstrate in Rostock

LD1412213189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2057 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Rostock/Erfurt (ADN)—Several thousand local people took part in the final demonstration of the year in Rostock this evening, despite the pouring rain. They came out against the old power structures still in existence in the party and state apparatus. At the same time there was a call for vigilance against neo-Nazi tendencies and for levelheadedness in public life. There were several banners with slogans calling for cooperation between the two German states. During the preceeding service in the Marienkirche in Rostock, reference was made to the value of every individual in the social reorganization of the GDR. [passage omitted]

Prodemocracy Demonstration Held in Erfurt

LD1412200189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1843 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Erfurt (ADN)—Over 10,000 inhabitants of Erfurt went on to the streets today to demonstrate for democracy and a mature GDR. On the Mary's Meadow behind the cathedral, speakers from New Forum called for the retention of social values, which must also be carried over in the event of a union of the two German States. New Forum is for tolerance toward those with different political views, but not toward neo-Nazis and terrorists. Another speaker called for every word in the state name German Democratic Republic to be given its full significance. However the black, red and gold flags and the banners carried by the demonstrators calling for reunification cannot be overlooked.

Warning Against Leipzig Escalations Issued

AU1412170589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Dec 89 p 1

[Gerd Prokot commentary: "Quo Vadis?"]

[Text] The people from Leipzig can justifiably claim that they put perestroyka in the GDR "on the right track" with their courageous and peaceful Monday demonstrations. At the demonstration of the 500,000 people in Berlin's Alexanderplatz, writer Christoph Hein proposed to award Leipzig the title "city of heroes." This was 6 weeks ago....

Since then the picture has changed. The train is in danger of being derailed. Instead of the "Internationale," the "Song of Germany" is sung, instead of "We are the people" one hears "We are Germans," some even call for a Germany within the borders of 1937. Banners say: "Better a cabbage farm [referring to FRG Chancellor Kohl, whose name means "cabbage"] than a socialist

experimental farm." Death threats are uttered, people who think differently are harassed. "Reds out of the demonstration!" they sing at the top of their voices. While many initiators of the past demonstrations from peace and church circles have, meanwhile, turned away with dismay and stay at home, Leipzig has new guests, according to DPA: "'Office of the Christian Democratic Union, Bonn' is what one can read on the back of a sticker saying 'We are one people.' The man who distributes stacks of these stickers says that he is a member of the West Berlin Christian Democratic Union."

Those who call for prudence in this escalated atmosphere are booed and jeered. "Let us not have our achievements endangered by brawlers," Father Fuehrer pleaded with the demonstrators. There is more at stake than the reputation of a city of heroes.

Quo vadis, Leipzig?

Draft Statute for Renewed Party Noted

AU1412162189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Dec 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Draft of a Preliminary Statute of a Party That Is Renewing Itself, Which Has Been Submitted to the Extraordinary SED Congress"]

[Text] The Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] is a socialist party. People from all classes and strata can become members.

It wants to serve the interests of the people and feels pledged to democratic principles.

The party bases itself on the traditions and the theoretical legacy of the German and international workers movement. Its main roots lie with the communist and social-democratic workers movement—at the same time, it draws from the socialist, antifascist, pacifist, as well as all international leftist traditions, in particular that of Lenin.

The theoretical guideline of the party is materialistic and dialectic thinking. The party is open toward all theoretical and conceptional stimuli by other intellectual and political movements, which serve the development of the personality in the socialist society and the ensuring of the survival of mankind.

The SED derives its socialist goals from humanist values, and understands the course of historical development in a materialistic way. In its policy, it will always proceed from the active role of mankind in action as a subject of history. The party is in favor of a new humane and democratic socialism on German soil that, as an alternative to capitalism, aims at a society in which the free development of every individual is the condition for the free development of all. This society is developing its human face in steady change.

The party categorically opposes nationalism, fascism, racism, and chauvinism.

In the political system, the party acts alongside other parties with equal rights. It struggles to win democratic majorities for the implementation of its political goals by the elected people's representative bodies. The basis of the SED's work and of all its members is the Constitution of the GDR.

The goals and path of renewal of the SED is inner-party democracy, which is practiced and guaranteed in the party's life.

The SED is a voluntary association of members with equal rights. They are the sovereign part of the party. Plurality of opinion and unity of action, democratic coordination and control, openness, tolerance, and comradeliness are valid principles.

Our party develops active relations with communists, socialists, and other leftist movements, which work for democratic socialism. It cooperates with all forces that work for human rights and a humanitarian solution for mankind's global problems. International solidarity with all people who are struggling for national and social liberation, against hunger, insufficient education, unemployment, and neocolonialsm is one of its essential concerns.

I. Membership of the Party

1. Any person above the age of 18 who has lived in the GDR for more than 6 months and who recognizes the program and the statute, can become a member. 2. Acceptance takes place individually in a basic organization by a majority decision of the members' assembly.

3. As a sovereign individual, the member has a right to an active role in the process of inner-party formation of opinion, decision-making, and control.

4. The member has the right to

a) freely express his opinion on all questions and party affairs in regular members' assemblies, to put forward motions, and to present proposals for resolutions, including the election and dismissal of functionaries and leaderships;

b) to criticize majority decisions and to advocate his standpoint if he is part of the minority;

c) call for thorough dealing with his proposals, suggestions, criticism, and petitions by every responsible leadership;

d) to associate with comrades of other basic organizations for the purpose of inner-party formation of opinion, to work out standpoints, and to present proposals for decisions;

e) to address the public and to use the media for this purpose;

f) to vote and to be elected.

5. The party member pledges support to the following principles of party work and promises to act in accordance with them:

a) active work in a basic organization;

b) uniform action for the implementation of decisions that are adopted by a majority;

c) the fulfilling of elective functions and of the entrusted tasks with initiative;

d) regular payment of the appropriate membership fees.

6. Membership ends through resignation, expulsion, or death.

II. The Democratic Structure of the Party

7. The basic organizations are the basis and the most important organizational units of the party. They have the right to decide independently and freely and to act with their own responsibility on the basis of the program and the statue and the decisions by superior party organs made within this framework.

8. Basic organizations can be formed by at least three comrades by implementing the production and territorial principle.

9. The supreme organ of the basic organization is the members' assembly, which is to be convened at least once a month.

10. The members' assembly elects the executive committee of the basic organization in a secret ballot by majority vote and confirms the chairman, who is elected by the executive committee, in an open vote of confidence.

11. The basic organization decides about its structure in its own responsibility. The determining factor is that the links between leadership and members are to be as close as possible.

12. Basic organizations can be organized in line with the following principles:

a) in line with the production principle in enterprises, cooperatives, and institutions, on the basis of honorary work in general;

b) in line with the territorial principles in basic organizations of the urban residential areas and communities.

c) If several party members work in enterprises, cooperatives, and institutions in which there are no basic organizations, they can organize themselves in their own basic organizations in the region.

In their enterprises, cooperatives, and institutions they form a party aktiv and elect their spokesmen.

d) Party members in the armed organs organize themselves in the basic organizations in the region.

13. The basic organizations have the right to:

a) make decisions on all matters of their own work and of the entire party;

b) send comrades directly to delegates' conferences of superior echelons, including the party congress, in line with a fixed distributive formula.

14. The basic organizations make sure that their members receive political education and sufficient information as a basis of the formation of their opinion and their decisions and can work out standpoints during the discussion.

15. At the level of communities, cities, kreises, and bezirks, party executive committees can be elected in secret ballot at delegates' conferences or members' plenary assemblies. They represent the party in the democratic life of the region and present their own concepts and initiatives for all questions of society, in particular on economic development, social policy, and questions of environmental protection and culture. They have the right to form commissions.

16. The delegates' conferences or members' plenary assemblies elect arbitration commissions.

17. The party executive committee elects a presidium by majority vote in a secret ballot. The Presidium elects its chairman and his deputy. The chairman is confirmed by the party executive committee in an open vote of confidence.

18. The party executive committees strive for close cooperation between the SED and all democratic forces that are pledged to the Constitution and are responsible for putting up their own candidates for election to the people's representative bodies.

19. The party executive committees support the basic organizations in the fulfillment of their tasks.

20. The supreme organ of the party is the party congress. The party executive committee convenes the party congress when necessary; however, at least every 2 years. The party congress constitutes a quorum if more than half of all party members are represented by delegates there. The distributive formula for the election of delegates is set down by the party executive committee.

21. The party executive committee can convene extraordinary congresses either on its own initiative or on the basis of a collection of signatures that expresses the will of one-quarter of the members. Such extraordinary congresses must not be held later than 2 months after the presentation of the list of signatures or of the initiative resolution.

22. a) Ordinary party congresses must be called at least 8 weeks before the actual date of the congress.

b) The party congress sets down the rules of procedure for itself.

23. The party congress

a) accepts the accountability reports of the party executive committee and the arbitration commission for discussion and decision-making;

b) decides on the program and the statute, and sets down the strategy and tactics of the party;

c) elects in a secret ballot the party chairman, the executive committee, and the arbitration committee.

d) The party chairman is elected if he gets two-thirds of the votes of the delegates to the party congress.

24. The party executive committee

a) is the supreme organ of the party between the party congresses;

b) holds sessions at least once within 2 months;

c) elects by secret ballot a presidium, which comprises the chairman, his deputies, the heads of commissions, the chairman of the party's People's Chamber group, and further party members;

d) forms commissions, which consist of full-time and part-time members;

e) appoints the editors in chief of the party's media;

f) heads and controls the institutions of the party, distributes the financial means of the party, and administers the central party accounts, making annual reports and using the financial means and assets of the party apparatus.

25. The party chairman is the supreme representative of the party. He heads the executive committee and the presidium.

26. The arbitration commission, which is to be elected by the congress

a) ensures the observation of the party statute and the laws by all party members. It investigates violations of the party statute and the laws by former and current party members;

b) deals with applications for the rehabilitation of former and current party members who were wrongly punished or expelled from the party;

c) examines and decides appeals against decisions by the bezirk and kreis leaderships concerning expulsions from the party and other party punishment;

d) checks the orderly use of the party's financial means and the use of party property.

The arbitration commission elects its chairman and his deputy.

27. Full-time elective functions of the party must not be exercised for more than 10 years at the same level.

28. The nomination of the candidates for the election to the supreme people's representative body is decided by the party congress.

29. The congress decides in time on election regulations for the preparation and holding of party elections.

III. The Financial Means of the Party

30. The financial means of the party are constituted by membership fees, revenues of party institutions, revenues from services by party institutions, as well as donations and other revenues from organizational work. The party executive committee decides on the distribution of the party's financial means.

31. The party members pay the membership fees as an expression of their affinity with the party and in line with their income and their social situation.

The member calculates his membership fee on his own on the basis of his monthly net income. The minimum membership fee should be paid in line with the following table:

up to M700 0.5 percent;

over M700 to M1,500 1 percent;

over M1,500 to M2,500 2 percent;

over M2,500 3 percent.

The minimum membership fee for members without income from work and for pupils, students engaging in direct studies, apprentices, and draftees is M0.5.

Members who receive old-age or medical pensions, pay the monthly fee in line with their financial possibilities. The monthly minimum fee is M1.

32. Upon admission M1 is to be paid.

33. The executive committee decides a guideline for membership fees for the organizational procedure of levying fees.

34. The elected executive committees have to account to the party congress, the delegates' conferences, or the members' assemblies for the revenues and their use.

Authors: Comrades of the Party College, Humboldt University, and the Organization and Party Life Department at the Party Executive Committee.

Appeal for Founding Jewish Cultural Association

AU1412181289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Dec 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Appeal for Founding a Jewish Cultural Association"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—A group of Jewish citizens in Berlin has proposed to found a Jewish Cultural Association in the GDR. The founding appeal, which has been given to ADN, reads as follows:

The Jewish Cultural Association is an association of GDR citizens of Jewish origin and their relatives independent of their ideology. It is pledged to the memory of the millions of Jewish victims. The association directs its attention at

—the history of the Jews; and

—the spreading of knowledge about Jewish history and culture.

With its work, the association strives for

—preserving Judaism and Jewish life;

—representing the interests of citizens of Jewish origin and their relatives;

—spreading knowledge about Jewish history and presenting in media, schools, universities, and cultural institutions in order to keep Judaism alive in public awareness;

—recognizing and preserving the memory of places where Jewish people lived, worked, and died.

The association is closely cooperating with the Jewish communities in the GDR and supports them. It establishes contacts with Jewish organizations abroad, in particular in Israel. The association is interested in cooperation with all persons and organizations at home and abroad that are dedicated to the history and culture of the Jews and actively oppose anti-Semitism, racism, and chauvinism.

Berlin Roundtable Discusses Security Policy

LD1412224189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1902 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A roundtable talk in Berlin today attended by representatives of the government, members of the People's Police, and representatives of citizens' movements and parties centered on the security policy situation in the GDR capital, procedural questions in connection with the dissolution of the Office for National Security, and problems of the further shaping of a security partnership. A press statement conveyed to ADN states that there was agreement in underscoring the need for a permanent working group in which all parties and movements of the roundtable in Berlin can take part.

The parties to the talk called on Berlin citizens to exercise moderation and a sense of responsibility in dealing with one another and with foreign citizens. Journalists were asked to support this aim through responsible and businesslike work.

Magdeburg Mayor Elected in Secret Ballot

LD1412212989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1422 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Magdeburg (ADN)—Since Thursday, Magdeburg has its first chief mayor to be elected by secret ballot. At an extraordinary meeting of the town deputies assembly, 130 out of 198 deputies voted for Dr Werner Nothe (Socialist Unity Party of Germany), the deputy for internal affairs to date.

Dr Nothe told the communal parliament that he favors the immediate preparation of administrative reform in the GDR. The division of legislative and executive organs is on the agenda. [passage omitted]

New Dresden Council Chairman Elected

LD1412210589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1411 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Dresden (ADN)—Professor Dr Wolfgang Sieber (Socialist Unity Party of Germany) was elected on Thursday [14 December] as chairman of the Council of the Dresden Bezirk [area]. He spoke to the plenum in favor of a completely new form of democracy, and reforms of the state, economy and administration in the bezirk. Solutions are being sought that, with a view to a possible Land structure, could be useful beyond Dresden. [passage omitted]

The assessment of the situation that Sieber gave was shocking: One-third of the fixed building assets of Dresden Bezirk industry originates from the previous century. The infrastructure, for example in the upper Elbe valley, is completely worn out. The situation with regard to the supply of electrical energy is tense. The Dresden bezirk for example stands in last place in the GDR regarding the supply of distant heating. [passage omitted]

Neubrandenburg Bezirk Leadership Chairman

AU1412185289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Dec 89 p 2

[ND report: "Juergen Zelm New Chairman"]

[Excerpt] Neubrandenburg (ND)—At an extraordinary bezirk [area] delegates' conference in Neubrandenburg during the night from Monday to Tuesday [11-12 December], Juergen Zelm was elected chairman of the party's Bezirk Executive Committee.

Honorary deputies are Wolfgang Schiemann, Guenter Kuehn, and Bernd Mahnke. The 426 delegates also elected a 41-member Bezirk Executive Committee as well as an Arbitration Commission, which comprises 15 comrades. The bezirk leadership had collectively resigned on Monday evening. [passage omitted]

Witnesses Report Violations by Security Organs

LD1412220789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1649 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Reports by witnesses before the ad hoc investigatory commission of the Berlin city council today confirmed the commission's findings that some members of departments in the protection and security organs on 7 October extorted statements, refused medical aid for the injured for a time, and exceeded the 24-hour maximum period for detentions.

Two of the victims, who wanted to go to their own apartment and that of friends near the Schoenhauser Allee, described how they were dragged off in the cold night by truck via several stations to the Blankenburg detention center. They gave information about degrading procedures, such as standing for hours along a wall in the so-called airman's position, psychological terror through continual shouting, insults, intimidation, and blows. They were released only after 3 days during which they were detained without proof of guilt, and at times with 36 persons in a cell measuring 12 square meters.

On the basis of the statements, the committee cast doubts on the correctness of the information given by the head of the police station, Sgt Oelschlaegel. He had claimed ignorance about such procedures by his subordinates before the ad hoc commission. [passage omitted]

The commission members also outlined their initiatives for the setting up of a self-help group for citizens who were taken in for questioning to the Immanuelkirchstrasse and Schoenhauser Allee/Senefelderplatz People's Police stations on 7 and 8 October. [passage omitted]

Enterprise Scaling Down Military Production

LD1412205789 Hamburg DPA in German 1648 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The military production carried out to date at the Gera enterprise of the GDR combine Carl Zeiss Jena is to be reduced. The works was built 10 years ago, has around 3,000 employees and, according to ADN, has been producing fire direction systems for battle tanks, measurement equipment for engineer units, and fire direction systems for antitank defense for the Warsaw Pact armies. Now military production is to be scaled down by 1991 to a value of M50 million. In future optical medical equipment, test apparatus for the semiconductor industry and special technical microscopes will be produced.

FDJ To Form New Socialist Organization

LD1412203389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1824 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A congress for a new socialist GDR youth organization is to be held in Brandenburg (Potsdam bezirk [area]) on 26-28 January 1990. This was decided by 80 of the 155 members present at the Free German Youth [FDJ] Central Council in Berlin today at the 14th session of this body. The congress is to endorse a program for and the composition of the executive of the new organization. The election of the delegates will take place at kreis [district] aktiv meetings.

The Central Council meeting adopted programmatic stipulations for the new socialist youth organization that are to be discussed among the FDJ members. They propose the creation of an organization aimed at the progressive-humanist ideas of the past and present, particularly revolutionary, socialist and Marxist ideas. In a leaflet the FDJ members support a coordinated left-wing action and youth groups in parliaments. They wanted to work steadfastly for peace, democracy, antifascism, youth councils, voluntarianism, ecology, a state based on the rule of law, equality, internationalism and counseling, and oppose neofascism, force, vigilantism, racial hatred, Stalinism, corruption and abuse of office.

The break with the old FDJ must finally be made, and publicly, Frank Tuerkowsky, the first secretary of the Central Council, demanded at the start of the session; otherwise it will sink within a few weeks. The existence of a new, independent socialist youth organization could only be implemented on the basis of equal among equals. This organization would also be considerably smaller than the old FDJ with its nearly 2 million members.

The Central Council meeting endorsed a letter to Prime Minister Modrow. It calls on the government to ensure the basic rights of youth in the process of renewal. Concern was prompted by violations of the youth law by state and eocnomic functionaries. In an open letter to member of the High Consistory Martin Ziegler, the participants of the Central Council meeting support youth participation in the roundtable. A proposal to conduct a demonstration against the reunification and assimilation of the GDR in Dresden on 19 December was a controversial point of discussion and was rejected in the end. Instead activities on this theme are to be organized throughout the GDR during Federal Chancellor Kohl's visit to the GDR.

People's Chamber Committee Discusses Travel Law

LD1412204289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1557 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The People's Chamber constitutional and law committee decided today after an, at times, controversial debate to propose that the second draft of the travel law submitted at the end of November be referred to parliament for adoption.

Deputy Interior Minister Dieter Winterlich stated that since the publication of the first draft and up to 11 December a total of 39,734 letters from citizens and collectives, containing 85,030 proposals, standpoints, views, and indications were, received by the relevant

government commission. Eleven central institutions and centers and the council of chambers of lawyers also submitted their own proposals.

The demands made in connection with the rejected first draft for a passport without visas, for no restrictions on duration of travel, and for the provision of specific reasons for being turned down were taken into consideration in the submitted proposal. It is balanced, excludes arbitrary acts, and is characterized by broad democratic discussion. This is in line with the majority will of the citizens.

Until 31 December 1990, the GDR personal identity card is valid for trips to the FRG and to Berlin (West), irrespective of the period of validity entered in the visa, Winterlich said. At the same time, an existing passport that expires in the coming weeks and months, can be extended for the transitional period.

The deputies also discussed the draft law for changing the air transport law, according to which fixed-wing aircraft and the use of aircraft in general is to be permitted.

Chamber Committee for Election Law Founded

AU1412215189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9-10 Dec 89 p 2

[ADN report: "People's Chamber Committee for Drawing Up Election Law"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The temporary People's Chamber committee for working out a new GDR election law constituted itself on 8 December 1989. This action implemented the People's Chamber decision of 18 November 1989.

The committee elected Deputy Paul Eberle (Liberal Democratic Party of Germany) as its chairman, Deputy Fritz Tschetschorke (Democratic Peasants Party) as first deputy, and Deputies Renate Eichhorn (Christian Democratic Union of Germany), Manfred Goedecke (National Democratic Party of Germany), and Werner Kirchhoff (Socialist Unity Party of Germany) as further deputy chairmen. All groups of the GDR People's Chamber participate in working out the new election law with the help of experts.

The committee discussed basic questions concerning the work on the election law. Questions regarding the democratic character as well as the election law, the election preparations, the holding of the elections, and the evaluation of the elections were discussed in particular. The committee asks the participants in the roundtable talks, who are not represented by groups in the People's Chamber, to participate in working out the election law. The committee accepts the assignment to present the draft of the new election law as early as possible to the People's Chamber for a first reading, linked with the recommendation to subsequently present the draft to the GDR citizens for a public discussion. The temporary committee thanks all citizens for their proposals on the new GDR election law and asks them to continue sending proposals concerning the above-mentioned and other questions to the "Temporary Committee for Working Out a New GDR Election Law."

Attacks on SED Members, Police Increase

LD1412175289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1458 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Threats of violence and attacks against former members of the Office for National Security (AfNS), against Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] officials, and against members of the People's Police have increased to an alarming degree in the past few days. This was announced to ADN by the press office of the Interior Ministry today. Examples showed that the need for protection of many citizens and their fear concerning arbitrary acts, as well as concerning manifestations of vigilantism, are well- founded, it is stated.

Thus at the "8 May" railway repair works in Eberswalde-Finow one can read on the noticeboard that functionaries of the "Stasi", the SED, and the FDGB [Free German Trade Union Federation] are traitors and deserve the death sentence. Personnel departments in enterprises and the education department of the area council in Potsdam have received letters and anonymous phone calls demanding that no former staff of SED district executives and AFNS members should be employed. Threats of violence have been made in the event of noncompliance. In Dresden a citizen drove his car to pick up his children. He was forcibly stopped by about 50 citizens who searched the vehicle. The man was kicked several times. A towrope was placed round his neck with cries of "communist swine." "We'll string you up with the thing!" the crowd cried. The lynching was only stopped by the brave intervention of a moderate citizen.

A spokesman for the Interior Ministry told ADN that "in the present situation, the German People's Police sees its priority in ensuring law and order while deploying all its forces for the benefit of our country and our citizens. Together with all social forces, all citizens, the members want to and will guarantee a high degree of public order and security and act in close partnership for a peaceful and nonviolent course of demonstrations and events. It regards it as its task to protect all citizens from violence and arbitrary acts, from possible attacks on people and personal property. There is no place for violent action in our country, and certainly not where violence is aimed at those with different views and foreign fellow citizens, and where Jewish cemeteries are desecrated. Every threatened citizen should immediately turn to the German People's Police. The consistent investigation and exposure of corruption and misuse of office also necessitated protecting honest citizens from slander."

Gysi Discusses Party, Personal Position

AU1412180389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Dec 89 p 1

[ND report: "Gysi: Our Party Wants to Be the Political Home of All Working People"]

[Excerpts] East Berlin (ND)—Our party wants to be the political home of all working people; it is to be open to all of them. This was stated by party Chairman Gregor Gysi on Tuesday evening [12 December] at the first international news conference after his election last weekend [9 December]. Participants in the well-attended new conference were Wolfgang Berghofer, deputy party chairman and mayor of Dresden, and Lothar Byski, chairman of the Media and Press Commission of the Executive Committee. [passage omitted]

Gysi answered the question by NEUES DEUTSCHLAND about reactions at the grass-roots level to the first stage of the extraordinary congress by saying that, despite all differences in opinion, there is widespread agreement with democratic renewal and the democratic nature of the first stage of the congress. At the same time, there are justified expectations as regards the statute and the program, that is the party regulations.

Asked a second question by NEUES DEUTSCHLAND about trends of marginalizing party members in social life, the party chairman expressed concern and also the hope that old intolerance and violation of human dignity will not be replaced with new versions of the same. [passage omitted]

Gysi answered a relevant question by saying that there is not yet a precise date for the meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev. Concerning his personal position as party chairman, he can say that he is driving a Lada and not a Volvo, does not enjoy special personal protection, and certainly does not intend to move into Erich Honecker's office.

Official Denies Private Funding of Weapons

LD1412152189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1412 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—General Secretary of the GDR Solidarity Committee Achim Reichardt told journalists in Berlin today that he would put his hand on his heart and swear that arms deliveries had never been financed through solidarity contributions from the GDR population.

Humanitarian aid to the peoples of the Third World continues to be the goal of his organization's work. This is not, however, intended only to alleviate hunger and need, but also to make aid available for self-help. Even given the GDR's internal problems, it is a good thing to continue the internationally recognized solidarity of the people. The problems of humanity can only be resolved jointly by the developed and the underdeveloped countries, Reichardt stressed. A new, democratic, more human socialism should not ignore international solidarity, the problems of hunger, of misery, need, and underdevelopment, he said.

Reichardt reported that the solidarity fund receipts from the population amounted this year up until 30 November to over 170 million marks. This was, however, lower than in previous years. The members of the GDR [Free German] Trade Union Federation FDGB made available 75 million marks through solidarity stamps. A total of 22.9 million marks were received from the committees to date from the National Front. Other mass organizations and associations and members of the armed forces also paid millions. The direct donations from citizens amounted to more than 29.1 million marks. The solidarity committee received over 1 million marks from legacies.

Of the 146.2 million marks already spent, 80 million were invested in the training of young citizens from developing countries, and 60 million for material aid goods, including transport purposes. Only 1 percent of the total expenditure was used for advertising and administration. The solidarity committee was subject to public control. The figures could at any time be made available. [passage omitted]

Declaration of Principles of Democratic Awakening

AU0612152289 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 1 Dec 89 p 6

[Unattributed report: "Democratic Awakening—Social, Ecological; From the Preliminary Declaration of Principles of 29 October 1989"]

[Text] As has been reported, Democratic Awakening [Demokratischer Aufbruch] will become a new party of the GDR, whose founding congress will take place in Leipzig on 16-17 December. With its current membership of about 10,000, it wants to play a role in a parliament that has to be newly elected.

On 29 October the association agreed on a preliminary declaration of principles at a meeting in the "Queen Elizabeth" Evangelical Charity in Berlin-Lichtenberg; the preliminary declaration of principles stresses, among other things, the following ideas:

Since dialogue requires partners with equal rights, our society can become democratic only if other political forces, apart from the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, constitute themselves. We consider our initiative to be an attempt to do this.

A renewed democratic republic requires:

—The separation of state and parties.

State institutions are subject to public control and are neutral from the ideological point of view.

—The development of free publicity and unhindered access to it.

Society controls and assesses the trends of its development in constant public discussion.

—Free formation of will and public expression of will by political means.

—Separation of state and society and social control of the state.

The executive organs and the legislative organs that control them are separated.

—Collective ownership of producer goods.

Social ownership is a misleading term for the state ownership existing in the GDR.

—Limiting the plan to basic trends of economic development and the role of the market.

—Economic efficiency and social justice.

—Ecological restructuring of the industrial society.

—Foreign political orientation.

The political demands and the goals of action of Democratic Awakening are embedded in the great hope of establishing the common European home, a European peace system, and a more just world.

The special relationship with the FRG, which is based on the unity of German history and culture, is assessed highly by Democratic Awakening.

NDPD Makes Proposals on International Policy

AU0512125389 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 25-26 Nov 89 p 2

[Proposals issued by the NDPD Main Committee's Commission for International Policy—date and place not given]

[Text] The commission for international policy of the main commission of the National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD], headed by embassy counsellor Guenter Metzker, has submitted the following proposals:

1. We have been following the foreign policy traditions of our party that is linked with the name of our foreign minister for many years—the friend of the party, Lothar Bolz. We call for an increase in our party's role in the GDR's foreign policy and we are prepared and able to meet the higher responsibility resulting from this demand.

In accordance with our party's responsibility as an independent political force of our republic, we will further develop and deepen our international relations without any interference from outside.

2. We demand an GDR foreign policy that is strictly concentrated on our main interests and renounces all activities that only serve an excessive need for recognition and do not concur with our national economic possibilities.

Our republic must be a predictable, reliable partner for all forces in the international community that support dialogue, a strengthening of the international security, and human rights. The impression the GDR makes in foreign countries must be fully in line with the reality of our country.

We support the GDR's work in the international community to find solutions for global and regional problems that will guarantee the survival of mankind, irrespective of all different interests. Our foreign policy must concentrate on implementing mankind's right to peace, guaranteeing the national sovereignty of our republic and the active participation of the GDR in creating a European order of peace.

However, the necessary and justified concentration of our foreign policy on Europe must not result in jeopardizing the important relations with the states of the "Third World" that have developed over decades. Anti-imperialist solidarity has been and will remain an essential feature of our international policy.

3. The NDPD is firmly committed to the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union. This communal feature is the prerequisite for the existence, work and prospering of our country, for peace in Europe and socialism on German soil. This, too, is a principle of national and democratic policy.

The halfheartedness of the previous leadership of our country in the attitude toward restructuring in the Soviet Union has done us harm. We are in favor of precluding any know-it-all manner in the relationship with the Soviet Union, of thoroughly studying its experiences in restructuring and further developing the bilateral relations on a universal basis for mutual benefit.

4. The NDPD will work to deepen the relations with all socialist countries. We are in favor of transforming the coalition of the Warsaw Pact from a military into a political-military alliance. In view of the different developments, a conciliation of interests should be found in the relations with the socialist countries, which requires a far-reaching readiness for compromises.

We are in favor of GDR participation in working out modern solutions for cooperation within CEMA.

5. We demand that one further specify the GDR's concept for creating a new European peace order, a common European house, in which the sovereignty of the GDR and our people's right to self-determination are guaranteed. We regard the foreign political committee of the People's Chamber as the competent organ for this. In the process of creating a new European peace order we must proceed from the fact that military security must be

replaced by security based on the guarantees of political-international law. This includes further disarmament steps, up to the possibility of non-aggression.

The GDR must actively participate in continuing the CSCE process and transform all commitments resulting from that into domestic stipulations without delay.

6. Within the framework of creating a new European order of peace, the bilateral relations between the GDR and the FRG must be further developed. Our party supports the striving for a community of trust of the two German states. The changes that occurred in the bilateral relations along with the renewal in the GDR are to be laid down in agreements as soon as possible.

We recommend that one take up again the proposals on a confederation of both German states made by our party in the fifties, and adapt them to the present conditions. We will specify our ideas on how confederative structures can be set up between two sovereign states with different social conditions and commitments to different alliances. We will submit these proposals to the public.

7. Following a consistent separation between SED and state, the competence of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs as the state organ responsible for our international relations is to be fully developed.

We are in favor of giving foreign political debates the proper attention in the work of the People's Chamber. The foreign political committee of the People's Chamber must be assigned the competence to deal with questions of international economic relations, it must become a place for lively discussions on the development of our foreign policy. Its authority is to be increased.

Free Democrats, Civic Forum Meet in Prague

LD0712050589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Report by Evelyn Forro from Prague]

[Text] One of the Civic Forum leaders, Vaclav Klaus, held negotiations with the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats] delegation. Janos Varga and Imre Mecs have told this Hungarian Radio correspondent they are watching with some anxiety the Forum's endeavors to join the government. In their view the Forum's situation is far from clear.

At the talks the Bos-Nagymaros water barrage was also discussed and the Hungarian standpoint signed by 14 parties and movements was presented. The standpoint suggests that to prevent anything irreparable from happening nothing could take place until the elections and the formation of legitimate governments in both countries.

The Civic Forum is sympathetic to the proposal to have, instead of the water barrage, a Hungarian-Czechoslovak-Austrian nature preservation area on this stretch of the Danube. The Forum agreed that in addition to ecological interests it would also be a good example of cooperation between small peoples of Europe.

The SZDSZ delegation also met two representatives of Charter 77, Petr Uhl and Anna Sabatov.

NEPSZABADSAG on German Reunification

AU0812202989 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 1 Dec 89 p 3

[Editorial by Peter Vajda: "A Downed Balloon?"]

[Text] Perhaps those who say that 1989 has been the most important year in the history of Europe since 1939 are right? Decades-old structures collapsed in the Fall of 1989, and the peace order set up by the victorious allies in Europe is being questioned today. A chronicler of bygone times will sum up the occasions and the people who spoke in this part of the world of "the people taking their destiny into their hands." In the meantime, unfortunately, politics were being carried out by excluding the masses, and this practice, as well as an arbitrary use and even disconsideration of laws were both characteristic of the political regimes expressed by the so-called "cult" structure. And now, the masses have really appeared in the countries in Europe where Stalinism is being discarded this year, and there is no political elite that could afford to disregard this in the long term without being punished for that.

Stripping it to its essentials, this is also the background of the newly emerged German issue. The masses' overwhelming dissatisfaction forced the implementation of changes (remember the way the people voted "with their feet" when a hole first emerged in the Berlin Wall at Hegyeshalom.) The new GDR leadership is ready to thoroughly review its policy, and the FRG, which is one of the driving forces of the process of detente in Europe, wants to adjust to the new situation in a constructive way. At the same time, one can understand individual diplomatic steps and initiatives only if one is aware of the weight of the problem and of the circumstances in which a given proposal was born. As for the problem that has emerged now as an undeniably "German issue", this is now the key issue in Europe both from the viewpoint of its historical lessons and the present. The initiatives and proposals of certain powers automatically carry some signs of improvised reaction, and this is not a condemning observation, but a conclusion of facts. This also refers to the proposal for a confederation, a proposal made by Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who clearly had to coordinate different interests: He had to support the German-German rapprochement, strengthen his own political basis, and coordinate the FRG views with the priorities of other powers.

Such a coordination of interests can never be perfect, because this depends on realities and on differences of interests and interest interpretations. A group of public figures in the GDR took a stand against "annexation" and called for a left-wing anti-fascist and socialist alternative and for preserving the identity of a given state, without rejecting the idea of confederation. There are people among them whose moral integrity is also confirmed by their opposition against the Honecker regime. Opposition to the Kohl plan in Western Europe, primarily in France, appeared in a concealed or indirect form, and occasionally, more openly. (France is quoting Mauriac with particular frequency today: I love Germany so much that I am glad that there are two German states.) One can sum up the arguments of confrontation by the fact that, given its outstanding importance, the German issue cannot be an exclusive German affair, but this also affects Europe and, in a wider sense, also the community of nations. From a legal aspect, a legal solution to the problem that would affect the status quo could be achieved only with the coordination of the victorious allies in World War II. This argument can also be found in the official Soviet response which is surprisingly harsh in its tone. According to this, Bonn wants to drive the renewal process under way in the GDR into a nationalist path and it tries to determine the direction of the reforms under way in the GDR. The Soviet statement warns against a sudden change in the developed institutions of stability, and this is a matching key to the safe that contains the Soviet negotiating positions in Malta.... The tough tone of the Soviet statement has probably not been accidentally linked with the critical domestic policy situation there; in addition, the GDR has always had a special position in the order of strategic values of the allies of the Soviet Unions: There are 400,000 Soviet troops stationed in the GDR. As the U.S. position is coolly reserved toward the Kohl proposal (although it tries to keep a balanced distance between Bonn and Paris), one can imagine that the famous West German

journalist Augstein will be right. This German issue is the one that will force the four allied powers to collaborate.

This very formulation (superpowers heading various alliances are again mentioned as allied powers) demonstrates the drifting power of historical events. (Berlin writer Peter Schneider said recently the following about the situation of some participants in the "German game" : A woman to whom one has sworn eternal fidelity for 40 years, has now suddenly come to the door and said: marry me.) Something that we have refused to admit for decades, namely that things are not black and white, has never been more true than now. There is a German nation and it has the same right to determine its own fate as every other nation. There are only equal nations, and there can be no "more equal" ones. But there is also history (even Bismarck's empire was too powerful to be able to preserve the balance of forces in Europe) which produced two states, and we cannot tear off pages from this book! There is also concern in various parts of Europe at the thought of a new political and economic superpower: and 80 million people are more than 60 million people. Is it possible that this concern is too early, a concern from a a plan that can also be qualified as a test balloon? Maybe, but the volley of fire directed at this balloon also shows that the majority of believers in a European House would rather carry on their construction activity somewhat slower, but they want to lay earthquake-save foundations in this house.

Israel's Netanyahu Departs Following Visit

LD0712024489 Budapest MTI in English
2138 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 6 (MTI)—Binyamin Netanyahu, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the State of Israel, has concluded his two-day visit to Budapest. In the course of his talks with Laszlo Kovacs, secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, they surveyed the possibilities for developing Hungarian-Israeli relations. They found that the settlement of diplomatic relations has opened new vistas in the relations between the two countries. They agreed that top-level meetings should continue and intergovernmental agreements should be made to assist the expansion of economic cooperation. Both sides reiterated their readiness to develop links in the field of technology and science, education and culture, and tourism.

They also held an exchange of views on the international situation, including the conditions in central Eastern Europe. Both sides presented their governments' position on the potential settlement of the Middle East crisis.

Mr Netanyahu also met with representatives of the Hungarian Jewish community and the press. He met with Peter Medgyessy, deputy prime minister, Gyula Horn, minister of foreign affairs and Jozsef Benyi, deputy foreign minister.

Beck-led Delegation Leaves for Israeli Talks

LD0712030489 Budapest MTI in English
2213 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 6 (MTI)—Tamas Beck minister of trade, left for Israel on Wednesday heading a delegation at the invitation of Ariel Sharon, minister of industry and trade.

MTI was informed by officials at the Ministry of Trade that the parties are scheduled to sign a trade agreement to replace the outdated agreement concluded in 1956.

Hungarian-Israeli trade relations were normalized in July, 1989. Israel facilitated the marketing of Hungarian goods, and Hungary was removed from the list of countries required to apply for itemized import permission. Another favourable change was the mutual cut in customs tariffs, with sixteen types of articles involved on each side. Talks by the Hungarian trade delegation will also cover the possible expansion of the range of mutual customs tariff reductions.

According to Hungarian statistics, Hungarian exports to Israel amounted to 14.4 million dollars, and imports to 15.2 million dollars before the end of October this year.

Last year, materials acounted for 55 percent and agricultural products for 35 percent of Hungarian exports, while nearly 20 percent of imports were equipment of computer technology and agriculture, as well as technologies.

Nemeth Receives IMF Official, Delegation

LD0812001189 Budapest MTI in English
2149 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 7 (MTI)—Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth met with Patrick de Fontaney, head of the IMF delegations currently in Budapest, on Thursday.

In the course of their meeting, they held talks on the conditions of an agreement between Hungary and the International Monetary Fund. They stated that the negotiations were on the right track, and the government budget for 1990 to be put forward to Parliament in December and other linked measures will provide a good foundation for the successful conclusion of the negotiations. Agreement will be possible, if the government proposals are approved by Parliament.

Szuros Attends Foreign Committee Meeting

LD0712233889 Budapest MTI in English
1756 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 7 (MTI)—If the current budget guidelines prevail, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will not be able to function by September 1990 at the latest, said Bela Havasi, deputy minister of foreign affairs at the Thursday [7 December] session of Parliament's Foreign Committee, which also attended by Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic.

The ministry is pressing for an additional subsidy of 700 million forints for next year to avert a crisis, yet the Ministry of Finance is not willing to grant any additional support.

The present budget guidelines set the expenses of the Foreign Ministry at about 3.421 million forints, with 2,000 million to be covered from the budget. The remainder is to be met from its own revenues, such as visa fees. At the same time, the Ministry of foreign affairs maintains that merely to maintain their activity, they require a further 700 million forints. The central question at the debate was whether the ministry had any internal reserves which could be mobilized.

Mr Havasi said that the possibility of a cut in staff had been examined and it had been found that there was a redundant work force only in the developing countries. Next year, 22 diplomats will be recalled from these countries. However, further cuts in personnel require a political decision, as they would affect Hungary's Western and the increasingly active Eastern relations.

The finance Ministry spokesman argued that a deficit in the state budget of more than 9-10.000 million forints would result in the country's bankruptcy.

Finally, the Foreign Committee said that the operation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs should not be hindered by a lack of funds. The Committee, however is not entitled to set a figure for budget subsidies.

Following, the Foreign Committee heard ambassadors candidates.

The first candidate was Istvan Oszi, potential ambassador to Yugoslavia. Mr Oszi was born in 1944 and graduated from Karl Marx University of Economics. Between 1968 and 1972, he was a diplomat in Belgrade. From 1985 to 1988, he was deputy head of the Foreign Department of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Central Committee. Since 1988, he has been a deputy minister of foreign affairs. His candidacy was unanimously supported by the committee.

Mihaly Terjek, candidate for the post of ambassador to Mozambique, was born in 1934 and graduated from Karl Marx University of Economics. He served as a diplomat in La Paz between 1963 and 1965, and in Santiago between 1966 and 1970, followed by two terms in Brazil. He is currently a senior member of the Department for Emigration and Political Affairs at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. His candidacy was unanimously approved by the committee.

Geza Kotai, candidate for ambassador to Canberra was born in 1943, and graduated from the Institute of International State Relations in Moscow. He was in the diplomatic service in London between 1971 and 1974. From 1974-1989, he worked at the HSWP Foreign Affairs Department, and in 1985, he was appointed head of department. His candidacy was unanimously approved by the committee.

Laszlo Major is a candidate for the post of ambassador to Buenos Aires. Mr Major was born in 1944 and graduated from the faculty of humanities at the Lorand Eotvos university of Arts and Sciences (ELTE) in Budapest. From 1979 to 1985, he was staff-member of the HSWP Central Committee, from 1983, as the assistant head of department. Between 1985 and 1987, he was editor-in-chief of the periodical "KULPOLITIKA' (FOREIGN POLICY), from 1987 to 1989, he was in the diplomatic corps in Montevideo. Since March, 1989, he has been the head of the HSWP CC office. His candidacy was unanimously approved by the committee.

Janos Domeny, candidate ambassador to Caracas, was born in 1934 and graduated from the Law Faculty of ELTE. He was in the diplomatic service in Warsaw, Ulanbaator, Havana, Montevideo and Caracas. He is currently a chief department head. His candidacy was unanimously approved by the committee.

Nemeth Addresses Planning, Budget Committee

LD1412210489 Budapest MTI in English 1632 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 14 (MTI)—The Council of Ministers considers voting on the budget a matter of confidence, Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth told the Thursday session of the Planning and Budget Committee of the National Assembly.

Mr Nemeth said although Parliament may reject the budget, a further version will not be submitted. He added that blackmail or threat were not implied.

The prime minister gave information on the weekend series of political dialogues and analysed the country's domestic political and economic position and prospects.

Istvan Fodor, acting speaker of the National Assembly, reported on the schedule of the December session of Parliament. He stressed the current Parliament has the duty to draft legislation on next year's budget and related measures. These questions will precede discussions about dissolving Parliament, and the first issue on the agenda would be the government's housing policy concept. (This week, several parliamentary committees as well as the Budapest Municipal Council have rejected the government's plan to raise the rent of state-owned flats and increase the rate of return of preferential flat building and purchasing loans taken up over the past 10-15 years.)

Istvan Fodor announced that should MPs [Members of Parliament] be unable to carry out their jobs because of parliamentary duties in January and February, they will be allowed to ask for absence from work, with Parliament meeting any cost incurred.

A Foreign Affairs Committee member told the session they considered the draft budget relating to the Foreign Ministry unacceptable because it would make the diplomatic corps unoperational from October next year.

In his reply, Miklos Nemeth said that the 870 million forints required by the Foreign Ministry cannot be met from the budget, and proposed additional resources such as the raising of visa fees, the closing of certain foreign missions and the selling of foreign-based Hungarian diplomatic real estates.

Nemeth Threatens Resignation if Budget Rejected

LD1412214189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] The parliamentary committees held sessions today, the subject being next year's draft budget. The premier addressed the Planning and Budget Committee, and voiced the prospect of his resignation if the submittal is not accepted.

Eva Dibusz has the details.

[Dibusz] The National Assembly Planning and Budget Committee accepted both the draft for next year's budget and the government's 1-year economic policy program. Its stance on the housing management concept was that the government and the Parliament's Construction and Transport Committee should reach agreement on the issue.

At the session, Premier Miklos Nemeth said that if the National Assembly does not accept the budget, then circumstances similar to the Polish or the Yugoslav economic situation will develop in Hungary. Despite this, Parliament can reject the draft. In this case, however, Miklos Nemeth will no longer have the energy to work out a new one.

Speaking about the housing concept, he said that if they do not accept this, then the government does not have any ideas to compensate for the missing 10-12 billion forints.

Istvan Fodor, acting speaker of the Parliament, said that the session will deal with housing management before the budget debate, because the whole budget depends on this.

HSP's Nyers Speaks on Budget, IMF at Rally

LD1412234189 Budapest MTI in English 2255 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 14 (MTI)—In view of the emergency, the HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party] Presidium feels the draft budget is acceptable, but disagrees with the idea of housing reform: This would further increase the burdens of the population, said Rezso Nyers, HSP president, at a political rally in Szazhalombatta on Thursday.

He said, 'Before the parliamentary session, there is still time to lodge an appeal and a modifying proposal to the managing director of the International Monetary Fund. Whether there be any prospect for a more favourable decision or not, the talks should at least be attempted.'

Mr Nyers stressed that although the HSP intended to be one of the largest parties, it did not strive for power at any price. If conditions forced the HSP to pursue a crippled policy, it would renounce government and perhaps go into opposition.

Mr Nyers said the HSP's financial standing and propaganda were 'deplorable'.

In reply to questions, Mr Nyers said that the Hungarian October Party was a provocational party, one which carried out all its actions in the spirit of provocation and abuse of democracy.

On the score of the HSWP's [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] Sunday congress, he said it was necessary for the HSP and the HSWP to dissociate themselves from one another.

Defense Budget for 1990 Cut 30 Percent

LD1512100289 Budapest MTI in English 0817 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 15, 1989 (MTI-ECONEWS)—In 1990, Hungary's defence budget will be slashed by 30 percent in real terms as compared to this year, Minister of Defence Ferenc Karpati told members of the parliamentary Defence Committee.

35.8 billion forints (560 million USd) has been set aside from the budget for defence purposes, and 4.6 billion forints (72 million USd) will probably have to be added to this from army sources.

Following repeated reductions in expenditures in this area, defence got 40.650 billion forints (635 million USd) from state coffers this year, topped up by 1.6 billion forints (25 million USd) from its own resources. The defence budget will see a 12-percent cut-back next year, even in nominal terms, and inflation, put at 19.5 percent next year, will also take its toll.

Defence will not even account for 6 percent of next year's budget expenditure of 608.112 billion forints (9.5 billion USd). Of this year's 539.855 billion forints (8.425 billion USd) defence got over 7.5 percent. The effective force of the Hungarian Army, still 106,000 in 1988, will be reduced to less than 80,000 by 1991.

The Ministry of Home Affairs, also responsible for the Police Force and the Border Guard, had a budget of 23.5 billion forints (367 million USd) this year. The Ministry of Finance proposed 26.285 billion forints (410 million USd) for next year, 900 million forints (14 million USd) less than the Home Ministry asked for.

A reshuffle of government responsibilities this year has meant that the councils and preparations for the elections have also come under Home Ministry supervision.

MPs expressed the view that the amount earmarked for criminal investigation was too low, and recommended that more money be allocated for this purpose by robbing Peter to pay Paul.

Deputy Minister of Finance Peter Kunos told the parliamentary committee that a little more money was still available for Home Ministry use, from budget reserves, if necessary.

Deputy Minister of Home Affairs, Sandor Ilcsik, announced that the state security force will be further reduced.

Over the past five years, the effective force of the frontier guard has been cut back to a third.

HSP Proposes 25 Feb Parliamentary Elections

LD0712224189 Budapest MTI in English
2201 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 7 (MTI)—The majority of the members of the parliamentary faction of the HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party] present at this session make a definite call to reschedule the parliamentary elections. They will propose to the forthcoming session of Parliament that the elections should be called by the interim president of the Republic for February 25. The date is feasible in view of political and technical considerations, said Csaba Hamori, head of the faction, during the break in the Thursday session.

Mr Hamori said when forming its opinion, the group had first of all kept the governability of the country in mind, as well as the economic situation, the rapidity of the changes in Eastern Europe, the postponement by the forced referendum of the election of a president of the Republic, and the functioning disorders facing the government.

HSP's Steiner Briefs Press on Elections

LD0812213689 Budapest MTI in English
1638 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest. December 8 (MTI)—Speaking to journalists on Friday, Arnold Steiner, secretary of the Budapest Executive Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Party pointed out that the committee supports the proposal of the party's parliamentary faction to hold the first round of the parliamentary elections on February 25. They said this would be justified by the current political and economic situation and serve to strengthen political stability. The committee considers it important to reinforce the government's viability, but is against the rise in interest of house-buying loans and the measure of inflation planned for next year. The HSP also calls for maintaining the level of real wages, Mr Steiner said.

According to the executive committee, it is still timely for the people to elect the president of the republic under the constitution which will be amended accordingly. Mr Steiner said the parties have a similar view on this question, but did not know who would initiate the constitutional amendment at the next parliamentary session.

He also pointed out that the Executive Committee agrees with the drafting of an ethical code, and joins the appeal which invites all responsibly thinking parties and organizations to a public session on December 19 to draw up a non-aggression charter.

HSP Adopts Economic, Foreign Affairs Program

LD1412190489 Budapest MTI in English
2053 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 13 (MTI)—At its Wednesday session, the Presidium of the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) adopted the position that, given the pressure of circumstances, the main targets of the draft of the 1990 state budget were accepted, HSP Spokesman Viktor Polgar told a news conference.

The Presidium agrees with plans to set an upper limit to the budgetary deficit, cut state subsidies, and establish a regulated financial relationship between the Council of Ministers and the National Bank of Hungary.

It considers the aforementioned conditions indispensable for the stability of the country's external financial relations. At the same time, it does not back the proposed housing reform, the spokesman added.

Mr Polgar told newsmen the HSP had not been invited to this weekend's HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] congress, and would not be sending delegates any message.

Jozsef Meruk, new head of the Foreign Affairs Department of the HSP National Office and the party's election campaign manager who used to be MTI's Madrid correspondent, said that the HSP would organize its international activity with its limited funds based on the principles of rationality.

At present, the HSP pays a great deal of attention to the changes in Eastern Europe, for instance, Csaba Hamori, member of the HSP Presidium, is holding talks in Berlin with representatives of the new movements and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SUPG).

Mr Hamori will be handing over a message from President Rezso Nyers to Gregor Gysi, the SUPG's new president.

Social Democrats Hold News Conference

LD0912180689 Budapest MTI in English
1718 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 9 (MTI)—During a press conference of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary in Veszprem Saturday, Vice-President Gyorgy Fischer pointed out his party would not object to a majority decision of social and political forces to hold the elections in March. However, he said he was convinced that

society is not yet adequately prepared for the elections, as it does not yet distinguish between the different political forces.

Mr Fischer said the Social Democratic Party has no wish of forming a coalition with any party in the first round of elections, although the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ) and the Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ) stand close to it. At the same time, he made it clear that they had no intention whatsoever of participating in an eventual coalition between the Hungarian Socialist Party and the Hungarian Democratic Forum.

Mr Fischer stated that although the Social Democratic Party of Hungary is a workers' party by tradition and continues to rely overwhelmingly on workers, it wants to become a people's party free from class prejudices, rallying factory workers, private entrepreneurs and employees in service alike. It wishes to be the party of entire society, particularly the middle classes living on wages and salaries.

Democratic Forum Denounces Ribanszky

AU0812202389 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 1 Dec 89 p 5

[Unidentified correspondent's report: "MDF Denounced Robert Ribanszki for Public Instigation"]

[Text] The news came from Mezohegyes that the local organization of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] had written a complaint to the Public Prosecutor on 28 November denouncing Robert Ribanszki for instigation of the public. Robert Ribanszki, secretary of the Provisional Acting Presidium in charge of reorganizing the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], participated in an aktiv meeting in Bekescsaba on 15 November where, according to the independent local newspaper DEL-KELET published 2 days after the meeting, among other things, he declared the following:

"There is a huge analyzing center behind the Association of Free Democrats [FIDESZ] and the MDF, and probably this is not operating in Hungary. Look, comrades, what they did to Puja! But they might be sorry for this because Puja did a lot for his constituency, and there will be enough comrades there who will tell these bastards, these good-for-nothings, and these snotty brats to stop!"

The people who denounced Ribanszki claim that this is a clear reference to the local MDF organization, because this organization is active today in the constituency of National Assembly deputy Frigyes Puja. According to the MDF, as one of the main figures of the political life, Ribanszi incited passions and hatred against an opposition organization and thus he committed the offense of public instigation stipulated in Paragraph 269, Article 1 of the Penal Code.

MTI on Fluid Party Situation in Hungary

LD1012235289 Budapest MTI in English 1754 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 9 (MTI)—A three-centred political system is taking shape in Hungary around a national centre committed to popular, democratic values, a social-liberal centre and a leftist centre organized along European lines. For the time being, none of the parties have a reliable social basis. The parties seem to overestimate themselves and lack a distinct political character. None of the 8-10 influential parties is likely to gain absolute majority in parliament after the elections, political scientist Mihaly Bihari said in his lecture on political transformation at a conference, "Forum for Democratic, National Advancement", in Budapest Saturday. The meeting was attended by representatives of political, social and interest organizations, and sovereign politicians, public personalities and scientists.

The personal conflicts between the Hungarian Democratic Forum and the Alliance of Free Democrats are making their election or government coalition inconceivable in the foreseeable future, and alliance between the Alliance of Free Democrats and the Hungarian Socialist Party also appears unlikely. As a consequence, the National Christian Centre and the Hungarian Socialist Party will necessarily move towards each other. Coalition between the Hungarian Democratic Forum and the allied organizations, and the Hungarian Socialist Party will only be viable if the HSP becomes an authentic party in three to six months' time. According to Mihaly Bihari, such a coalition could attain a 70 percent majority in parliament.

Prime Minister's Economic Adviser Interviewed

PM0712100489 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 24 Nov 89 p 16

[Report on interview with Laszlo Antal, economic adviser to Hungary's prime minister, by Thomas Lerner; date and place not given: "Hungary Opens Its Borders"]

[Text] The closed Hungarian economy is now to be opened wide. For a number of unprofitable companies there is only the prospect of bankruptcy once consumers can also buy foreign goods in their stores.

"This is a painful, but necessary development if we are to survive in the long run," Laszlo Antal, economic adviser to the Hungarian prime minister, said during a visit to Stockholm.

He is not surprised by the recent dramatic political and economic developments in Eastern Europe.

"A country's economy breaks down if the state is both player and umpire. This is what has happened in the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, and the GDR. That is why calls for economic reforms throughout the Eastern bloc are on the increase," Laszlo Antal said.

Market training is today the "favorite interest" of all Hungarians, he went on. But there is a risk that the pendulum will swing too far the other way as a reaction to the former strict central control.

"That danger always exists in connection with an economic liberalization and is something that we will have to live with during a transitional phase," Laszlo Antal said.

He admitted that the Hungarian Government is wrestling with several serious economic problems.

"We ruled out private ownership for such a long time. There are no barriers which can halt unprofitable investments or wage increases that are not covered by costs."

Laszlo Antal's recipe is investment in privately owned profit-oriented companies and the reduction of state power over the Hungarian economy. He views a social market economy on the Swedish model as a way of solving the serious problems in his native country.

Controversial U.S. economist and Nobel prizewinner Milton Friedman is also an inspiration for today's Hungarian economists.

"We need a little toughness in the economy. So for a while some of Friedman's ideas could be for us. But, as I have said, only for a limited period."

According to Laszlo Antal, the Hungarian economy suffers above all from two serious maladies. It has been possible to go on running unprofitable large companies year after year without any attempt to show profit in the annual accounts, and the surplus in trade with the Soviet Union is much too big.

"We are given a bunch of rubles which cannot be used for anything," Laszlo Antal said.

He hopes that Swedish firms will set up in Hungary and that the Swedish Government will support the idea of Hungary's joining EFTA [European Free Trade Association]. Closer cooperation with the EEC lies in the much more distant future.

As well as his work as adviser to the prime minister, Laszlo Antal teaches political economy at Budapest University. Formerly he was deputy director at a state finance and research institute.

"I suppose at that time I was viewed as a semi-opposition figure, and everyone knew that I criticized the economic policies of the time. Today I can be considered a social democrat."

Laszlo Antal has a major influence on economic policy in Hungary. During his visit to Stockholm he will meet with representatives of the Federation of Industry and various ministries.

"I am not here to drum up loans or aid. What we need is help to train bank personnel, company managers, and all the other people needed to get an open economy to work. Hungary has lacked such skills for 50 years.

"An economy under tight central control cannot survive for long. A market with the possibility of private profit is needed," Laszlo Antal said.

Official Calls for Easing Currency Restrictions

LD0812163489 Budapest MTI in English 1506 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 8, 1989 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The current system of currency supply for private individuals cannot be maintained for much longer, Deputy Minister of Finance, Istvan Tompe, said at a news conference here on Friday.

A convertible-currency market will have to be introduced soon, he said, so that official and black market forint exchange rates be brought closer together. Currently there is a 50-60 percent difference in the two rates.

Remarkable progress is being made in implementing the financial deregulation programme, Mr Tompe went on, with Ministry of Finance plans to make Hungarian property and agricultural land available to foreigners. At present, only Hungarian citizens living abroad are entitled to buy property in Hungary.

From January, citizens leaving Hungary for good will be authorised to take belongings to a value of up to 500,000 forints (7.800 USD) with them without needing permission.

The Ministry of Finance recommends putting an end to the present practice whereby applications to open hard-currency shops in Hungary are dealt with case by case. Mr Tompe suggested that general conditions under which such shops may be established should be laid down in law.

Skubiszewski Meets Baker, Nakayama in Brussels

LD1412131989 Warsaw PAP in English
1058 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Brussels, Dec 14—Poland's Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, now in Brussels to attend the conference of 24 states, met with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, Japan's Foreign Minister Tar Nakayama and Sweden's Foreign Minister Sten Andersson. In the evening yesterday, he delivered a lecture at the Royal Institute of International Relations on "the role of Poland in a changing Europe."

Poland's minister told Polish press correspondents afterwards that financial aid for Poland came up during the talk with James Baker, specifically, the Stabilization Fund, as well as a 500 million dollar U.S. credit for Poland to cover her imports, particularly in the first quarter of 1990.

Reviewed were also bilateral issues, among other things the problem of frequent refusals of U.S. visas to Poles. Also talked over was the U.S. agreement for setting up a Polish consulate in Los Angeles. James Baker emphasized Poland was facing a unique chance: She has got a government enjoying the confidence of society and can count on Western assistance.

Minister Nakayama told the Polish minister of the scope of the Japanese assistance, but, as Minister Skubiszewski remarked, his interlocutor was particularly interested in Poland's Minister's opinion about the German problem.

Minister Skubiszewski presented the Polish point of view, pointing to the shortcomings in Chancellor Kohl's 10-point plan. The German leitmotiv was also broached upon during lunch by the 26 ministers.

The meeting with Sweden's counterpart concerned primarily a joint project of calling a Baltic conference.

In his lecture minister Skubiszewski elaborated on the chief principles of Poland's foreign policy, relations with the Soviet Union and German nation divided into two states.

Jaruzelski, Gephardt Review Relations

LD1412190889 Warsaw PAP in English
2140 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 13—President Wojciech Jaruzelski received leader of the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress Richard A. Gephardt today.

Both sides reviewed Polish-U.S. relations, stressing importance that Jaruzelski's meetings and talks with U.S. President George Bush had for their successful development.

The president conveyed expressions of recognition to Gephardt for the commitment of the U.S. Congress to the preparation and conclusion of a package of ventures supporting the process of economic reforms in Poland.

Members of the House of Representatives' subcommittee for Europe Congressman Lantos took part in the meeting.

Atrocities Investigator's Comments Attacked

AU1312170389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU
in Polish 4 Dec 89 p 7

[Jan Brodzki commentary: "In Reply to Jacek Wilczur—A False Equation"]

[Text] Doctor Jacek Wilczur has worked for many years as a historian, propaganda activist, party lecturer, and a journalist and writer exposing Hitlerite atrocities. He had and still has his own room and workplace in the Main Commission Investigating Hitlerite Atrocities, which is located in the Institute of National Remembrance. He completed a mammoth task which exposed the high precision of Hitler's machinery of destruction which was used to exterminate Poles. He has also exposed the numerous atrocities that were planned by Hitler, and which also touched others, for example, the Italians, the Anglo-Saxons, and other nations.

Recently, and at the request of the minister of justice, who by reason of his office is the chairman of the commission, Doctor Wilczur accepted the post of director of the newly created section to investigate Stalinist crimes. The creation of such a section is a correct decision and reflects a belated historical justice.

Nevertheless, Doctor Wilczur's thesis that the aims of Hitler and Stalin in relation to the Polish nation were completely identical—a thesis that he recently postulated in a recent GAZETA WYBORCZA interview (29 November 1989)—coming from a man who is a political activist and a historian who for many years now has been intimately acquainted with the origins and the results of Hitler's mad directives, a historian who scrupulously investigated and exposed these directives, sound absolutely incredible.

Should one have to remind a historian that Hitlerite atrocities were the quintessence of Hitlerite ideology, whereas the atrocities committed by the Stalinist apparatus were only the extreme cases of the aberrations of socialist ideology? Torture and death is only torture and death. It is the same drama for the victim, the victim's family, and the nation. In the thesis that Wilczur has put forward there is a scandalous deception in drawing the sign of equality as he has done. The fact that this thesis is false is proved by the hundreds of thousands of dead Red Army soldiers who lost their lives on Polish territory fighting Hitlerism. Poland's present and optimal boundaries also refute his thesis.

We wanted to ask Doctor Wilczur to explain to us the sources on which he has based this falsehood. The commission informed us that he is currently abroad and

will not be returning until the middle of December. His thesis making the aims of Hitler and Stalin equal in relation to the Polish nation is duping those who have read the interview. We felt, therefore, that we could not wait with our reply until the middle of December. It is intolerable to make from human and national dramas—be it consciously or subconsciously—a springboard for politicking that falsifies history. The "scholarly" thesis formed in usum Delfini [Latin given—for the benefit of the powers that be] is an obvious vulgarization.

Our reply is not a defense of Stalin, but it strongly rejects the approach which treats history in an instrumental fashion.

In the interview there is another aspect that sounds hollow, a seemingly juicy bit of gossip which in essence is a veiled accusation.

Doctor Wilczur states that many documents relating to the execution of the victims of this repression have been lost. These documents were destroyed most probably by those people who feared they would subsequently be brought to justice for their wanton acts. So far so good, and we fully agree with this. The suggestion is, however, that the minister of justice approached "someone" so that the destruction of these documents would come to an end. Nevertheless, Comrade Wilczur is not convinced that this will happen. What are we to make of these anonymous whisperings? Why hide the reality and conceal the identity of the person who was approached—a person (persons?) who is suspected of disloyalty? Why is suspicion being cast on that person? We now live in an era of openness. A party member should speak openly. I think, Comrade Jacek, that you ought to do it.

Kozakiewicz Statement on Nazi Crime Damages

LD1412143689 Warsaw PAP in English
0110 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Bonn, Dec 13—Sejm speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, now on an official visit to the FRG, conveyed a written statement to the Bonn press today. The statement concerns an "open chapter in mutual relations," that is, the unsolved question of damages for victims of Nazi crimes.

"About 40,000 former inmates of concentration camps and over 800,000 former forced laborers still live in Poland. A total of 2 million Poles laid various kinds of claims for damages towards the German side and most of them have not received any damages so far. The Polish side thinks that the question of damages has primarily humanitarian and moral aspects and not only the legal one and is closely linked to the future of Polish-German relations. The question of damages for Polish victims of the Third Reich must be properly settled. This is a condition sine qua non of agreement and future reconciliation between Poles and Germans," the Sejm speaker says.

Sejm President: Kohl's Border Stance 'Ambiguous'

AU1412161089 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE
in German 14 Dec 89 p 2

[Report by "C.G.": "Kohl's Stance On Border Issue 'Ambiguous'"]

[Excerpts] Bonn, 13 December—The Polish Parliamentary president, marshal of the Sejm, Kozakiewicz and deputies of all Sejm groups are currently visiting Bonn until Friday [15 December] for talks with Bundestag President Rita Suessmuth and Bundestag floor leaders. On Wednesday [13 December], Kozakiewicz said that Federal Chancellor Kohl's stance on the Polish western border was "ambiguous." He said that on the one hand, Kohl referred to the Warsaw Treaty of 1970 and the inviolability of the borders that had been agreed in this treaty by the FRG and Poland, and also stressed that there were no aggressive aspirations aimed at changing existing borders. On the other hand, Kohl insisted that juridically, the German Reich continued to exist within the borders of 1937. Kozakiewicz said: "That is a position that is intolerably ambivalent for Poland, a position that is based on two different values." He added that the border issue was "of course a subject of discussion" during the Polish delegation's visit to Bonn. Clarifying this issue was a "key problem" for Poland, he said. [passage omitted] Kozakiewicz said that the Poles were concerned about the possibility that the FRG would now give more aid to the GDR. He said it was understandable that the situation in the GDR received more attention in the FRG than anything else. Kozakiewicz said: "However, if this were to lead to a political change, it would not be desirable." He said that Poland welcomed the democratic changes in the GDR; not, however, the anti-Polish moods that were possibly being organized. He said that, while the Poles were happy about the process of change, they were also concerned about the possibility that it would lead to "international difficulties." He said that Kohl's 10-point plan was being assessed in Poland in light of two aspects. Morally, there were no objections to the unification of the two German states: "Nobody in Poland denies the German people the right to become unified, if they so wish." Militarily and politically, however, the question had to be asked when and how rapprochement and unification should be achieved: "If this happens too fast and too spontaneously, this may lead to unrest in Europe."

Agriculture Minister Meets Austrian Officials

LD1412190789 Warsaw PAP in English
2134 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] Vienna, Dec 13—December 13, the second day of his official visit to Austria, vice-premier, Minister of Agriculture Czeslaw Janicki held talks at the Federal Economic Chamber with its vice-chairman Tichy-Schroeder.

Later the vice-premier met a large group of representatives of the Austrian economic world and paid a visit to Vice-Chancellor Josef Riegler.

The vice-chancellor pledged his support for a further, tangible assistance for Poland, during his talks on the subject with the chancellor, with the Austrian minister of agriculture and in the EEC.

Speaking to a PAP reporter Vice-Premier Janicki emphasized that Poland was not so much interested in aid as in economic cooperation, in involvement of Austrian capital in Poland in the manufacture of means of agricultural production.

The vice-chancellor said that at the next Thursday meeting of the Austrian Council of Ministers he would speak in favour of concrete means of assistance for Poland.

Reportage on PZPR CC Visit to Italy

Rakowski on Visit Aims

AU1412174289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Dec 89 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Why Am I Going To Italy?: Statement Made to TRYBUNA LUDU by Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee"—date and place not given]

[Text] On 12 December, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, is going to Italy at the invitation of the Italian Socialist Party. TRYBUNA LUDU asked the Central Committee first secretary about the purpose of the visit.

[Rakowski] "I am pleased that you have asked this question before the beginning of the visit. Someone who reads a laconic communique about Rakowski going to Italy at the invitation of Bettino Craxi may think that for the PZPR Central Committee first secretary there is no more important issue for Poland in the middle of December 1989 than to visit Rome. That would obviously be a misinterpretation. Important things are happening in Poland and the socialist countries. We must find answers to the questions that trouble us in close conjunction with left forces in Europe, both in the West and in the East, otherwise, instead of achieving progress and stability, we may slide into a vicious circle of unrest and conflict.

"Having visited the socialist countries, I would like to use this visit to Rome to maintain and develop the ties that link us with Western Europe. The people that I will be talking to represent a broad cross-section of activists on the Italian political scene.

"I would like to familiarize myself with their experiences and with the functioning of Italian parliamentary democracy, with the activities of political parties, and especially the activities of the Italian Socialist Party, headed by Bettino Craxi, a known and respected politician, who has served as premier on several occasions and is deputy chairman of the Socialist International.

"Why did I choose Italy? I chose Italy, because it is one of those countries with which Poland has traditionally had good bilateral relations, and political, economic, and cultural cooperation has been developing well for many years. I intend to encourage the people with whom I speak to to maintain these good relations as well to search jointly for ways of developing these relations to the benefit of both countries."

Meets Cossiga in Rome

LD1412132489 Warsaw PAP in English 1121 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Rome, Dec 14—First Secretary of the PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] Mieczyslaw Rakowski, now in Rome on the invitation of the Italian Socialist Party, was received on Wednesday [13 December] by President Francesco Cossiga of Italy and held talks with the leaders of the Italian Communist Party Achille Occhetto and the Social Democratic Party Antonio Cargilia.

Carried on was the exchange of views on the possibilities of further development of inter-party contacts with the Italian Socialist Party.

Italy's president reiterated his profound interest in the further allround development of relations between Poland and Italy.

Mazowiecki Receives Jewish Congress Delegation

LD0612205389 Warsaw PAP in English 1906 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 6—Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki received visiting delegation of the American Jewish Congress with its President Robert Lifton. The participants stressed the need and significance of eliminating prejudice and sore points from Poland's contacts with the Jewish Community in the United States and the role this community can play in promoting and developing this country's economic cooperation with American business circles.

Prime Minister Mazowiecki pointed out that Poland had initiated transformations now introduced on a broader scale in Eastern Europe and that it had shown how to solve problems on the road of evolution.

"I think that the success of these difficult changes of ours is in the interest of such transformations in Europe and worldwide and it largely depends on overcoming economic problems," Mazowiecki said.

"We regard Poland's economic cooperation with American business and development of comprehensive contacts in this area as very important in the present situation. We realize just how big [of an] influence the

Jewish community in the U.S. can have on these possibilities and prospects," he said.

The prime minister expressed the coviction that Poland and Israel would resume diplomatic relations in the near future.

In reply to a question posed during a press conference after the meeting, Robert Lifton said he had been assured by Poland's Primate Cardinal Jozef Glemp and Krakow's metropolitan Franciszek Macharski that plans were in the works to build a prayer center outside the disputable premises in the Nazi death Camp Auschwitz and that construction would start next year.

Lifton described as inadmissible the statement to the effect that Poles sucked anti-Semitism with their mothers' milk. The Israeli prime minister resorted to a stereotype which we oppose. We said that in public. On the other hand, not always was anti-semitism just a margin of political life in Poland. Unfortunately, there was also a time when it was used as a means of political activity, he said.

If we keep looking back at that which happened in the past, we will stay in place. One should move forward and this is the goal of our present visit to Poland, Lifton said.

Jaruzelski Receives Apostolic Muncio's Credentials

LD0612220489 Warsaw PAP in English 2021 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 6—President Wojciech Jaruzelski received in an audience at the Belvedere Palace here on Wednesday papal Muncio Archibishop Jozef Kowalczyk who presented his credentials.

Also on Wednesday, Archbishop Kowalczyk laid a wreath on the Unknown Soldiers' Tomb.

French-EEC Mission Meets With Polish Leaders

PM2711152689 Paris LE MONDE in French 21 Nov 89 p 3

[Philippe Lemaitre dispatch: "Polish Leadership Launches Veritable Distress Signal to Delors and Dumas"]

[Text] Warsaw—"The straitjacket of debt that is hampering our economy must not just be loosened, but completely removed. We are counting on France, which has always understood Poland...," Mr Mazowiecki said. "We only have 6 months in which to succeed," General Jaruzelski said when he received the two Community leaders.

In the morning working session attended by Mr Mazowiecki, accompanied by his main economic ministers, and [EEC Commission Chairman] Mr Delors and [French Foreign Minister] Mr Dumas, the Poles conveyed a threefold message: The time factor is crucial; the government is determined to implement a consistent and responsible economic recovery program; Western aid must be increased.

Indeed, the Polish economic situation is desperate and is characterized by a plummeting production level and galloping inflation (currently at an annual rate of between 500 and 600 percent). Can the government's recovery plan succeed? The Community delegation noted marked differences in tone between the radical free market ideas professed by the young ministers from Solidarity and the more cautious ideas of the Polish United Workers' Party leadership. To combat inflation, the former are proposing to drastically curb subsidies and control wages, while expressing anxiety about the social cost—unemployment, strikes, poverty—of such remedies.

"Is the revival of production enough to effectively combat inflation and, if not, will the stabilization funds that you are asking us to finance be able to play a useful role?" Mr Dumas asked. "In most cases, galloping inflation leads to an increase in production. This is not the case here. Why? Is the problem of organizing agriculture being tackled on an adequate scale?" Mr Delors asked. These questions illustrate the perplexity felt by the two Community leaders after the explanations they had heard.

However, both seemed convinced that the time is right for action. How does Mr Dumas react to the idea of canceling the debt? "You would have to ask the finance ministers, but I would be in favor of it—these people are merely running to meet deadlines," the foreign minister explained. "We must take risks, and win over the orthodox people, especially in the IMF; a historic opportunity like this will not be repeated. The Community would not be worth existing if it did not dare to act," Mr Delors said.

During the press conference, the commission chairman listed the various forms of help which the Twelve, and the other Western industrialized countries, are giving Poland.

—Support for the government's recovery plan: The EEC countries and the United States are open to the idea of financing a $1 billion stabilization fund requested by the Poles to increase the chances of the monetary reform that they propose to introduce. The Twelve's agreement was confirmed at the Elysee dinner on Saturday evening. Mr Delors included under this heading the second part of the food aid that the EEC is preparing to approve. The aim is to help the population get through the winter. The first part was worth 130 million European Currency Units [ECU] (Fr910 million), the second would be closer to 2 billion ECU (Fr1.4 billion) and would relate mainly to meat and feed grain.

—The creation of a favorable context for economic development: Several initiatives relate to aid for training. Within the limits of 1 billion ECU (Fr7 billion), the European Investment Bank could grant loans for infrastructure improvements. Mr Delors said he is in favor of creating a Euro-Polish bank, which

would have the role of helping the Poles to modernize their banking system and to provide Western investors with expertise for their operations in Poland. "We will have to mobilize the leaders of around 10 big European banks who are willing to join in setting up this bank," Mr Delors explained. This bank must be distinct from the East European development bank with a general mission proposed by Mr Mitterrand.

—The modernization of production structures: The aim is to provide means of production that are lacking because of a shortage of foreign currency, and to finance investment. Mr Delors was eager to emphasize the modernization of the agricultural and food production and distribution apparatus, but has apparently received only a limited response from the Polish side. The 300 million ECU (Fr2.1 billion) that are included in the EEC budget for 1990 should be allocated to such projects as a priority.

A coordination meeting of the 24 OECD countries that are helping Poland and Hungary will be held at the experts level on 24 November. Another meeting of the 24 countries at the ministerial level is scheduled for 13 December.

Skubiszewski Claims Aid Will Not Be 'Wasted'

LD1412191189 Warsaw PAP in English 1359 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] London, Dec 14—Poland's Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski told the BBC television last night that there was no risk of wasting Western economic aid by Poland as the government had changed, its policies were changing and the programme of economic reforms was concrete and detailed and had nothing in common with errors committed by previous governments.

"The situation is new and, therefore, I do not think that the money will be wasted," Skubiszewski replied when asked by BBC political commentator Jeremy Paxman whether Western aid for Poland would not be in vain like had been the case with loans granted to Poland in the 1970s.

Balcerowicz on Transition to Market Economy

PM1412140289 Madrid DIARIO 16 in Spanish 3 Dec 89 p 7 (Dossier De La Semana supplement)

[Enrique Clemente dispatch on interview with Deputy Premier and Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Warsaw—At 42, this graduate of Warsaw's Central Planning School and New York's Saint John University, a member of the (communist) Polish United Workers Party from 1969 through the establishment of martial law in 1981, has the task of carrying out an unprecedented transformation—from a planned socialist economy to a free market economy.

"Both comparative analyses and simple observation show that the market economy of free competition open to the world is decidedly superior to any kind of centralized economy. I realized this long before 1980," Balcerowicz said.

The current deputy premier became known in 1980, with the publication of a draft examination of a reform of the communist system, headed by himself. The conclusions were so radical that they were rejected by the government, but a model for the reformists of the era was established.

A few weeks after becoming a minister in the first noncommunist government in Eastern Europe for over 40 years, Leszek Balcerowicz had to undergo a kind of test at meetings of the IMF and World Bank. There this extremely serious, reserved, and laconic man was one of the centers of attention when he presented a plan to extricate his country from its crisis by transforming the socialist economy into a market economy with an inevitable request for help from the West.

"I believe that people paid attention to my speech. I believe that there are now grounds for saying that Western aid will be real. It is difficult now to calculate its exact scale," the Polish minister said.

The Polish premier has a plan for achieving the transition from a centralized economy to a free market economy ("unprecedented in history," according to Balcerowicz.)

The first point in this "stabilization plan" is "the securing of credits to guarantee, starting in 1989, imports of raw materials and goods essential to industrial and agricultural production and the complementary purchase of goods important from society's viewpoint—medicines, for instance."

Also it is necessary to "agree with the IMF as soon as possible on an adaptation plan, together with the introduction of a standby credit of $700 million."

According to the man in charge of Polish Government economic policy, this plan requires "the securing from highly developed countries of guarantees of the granting of a stabilization loan of $1 billion, together with a uniform price for convertible currencies and a stabilization of the national currency."

It is also necessary to "establish this year World Bank credits to finance agreed projects." As early as 1990 Poland must secure "credits granted by the World Bank to back structural changes" in the country.

International support would also include "the securing of financial aid for privatization activities," with "an

improvement in the conditions for refinancing repayment obligations contracted with the Paris Club" and "a lowering of the nominal value of the debt incurred with the credit banks (Brady plan) and of the costs of servicing the debt and the securing of new bank credits."

The situation of the Polish economy displays the following dangerous features: a balance of payments gap, difficulties in repaying the foreign debt, a high inflation rate, a budget deficit, falling output, and shortages. The prospect of a tough winter that will exacerbate the already harrowing problems makes for a critical picture. [passage omitted]

"If the plan is promptly and consistently accepted in practice by Polish society, it will be possible some months into next year to considerably reduce the rate of increase in prices, that is, to eliminate hyperinflation," he said.

"At the same time, the changes being carried out rapidly and consistently in the economic system will make it possible to achieve not only a stabilization of the economy, but also a considerable increase in economic efficiency. This is the key to resolving Poland's main economic problems," he concluded, though declining to cite a specific date for the solution of the crisis.

Polish Past, Future 'Geopolitics' Analyzed

AU2811174389 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA Polish 25-26 Nov 89 p 1 ("PLUS" Supplement)

[Jacek Moskwa article: "Poland-USSR: Two Gulps of Geopolitics"]

[Text] Geopolitics is often used as a justification for a certain kind of "Realpolitik." This is particularly true of Poland, which is condemned to take account of the balance of forces of its neighbors by virtue of its location. The traditional answer to Poland's geopolitical problems was as follows: We find ourselves situated between Germany and Russia. Germany poses the greater danger, so we should we seek an ally in Russia.

Following the massacre in Galicia, these were the conclusions that Marquis Aleksander Wielopolski arrived at and proceeded to implement with steadfast consistency in the 1860's. Similar conclusions were arrived at half a century later by Roman Dmowski. Of course, the very opposite interpretation of the way in which we could overcome our geopolitical fate was also possible. Jozef Pilsudski and his successors considered Russian imperialism to be the main enemy. This engendered the strategy of the so-called Promethian struggle, which relied on encouraging resistance on the part of the peoples making up the empire.

As we know, history found its own way of making the argument something irrelevant. There was no room for any kind of sovereign policy between Hitler's and Stalin's totalitarianism, and the choice was limited to one of who one should subordinate oneself to completely and blindly. After the war, bonds based on interests stemming from a geographical location were replaced by a community based on ideology.

The geopolitical way of thinking underwent a brief revival that lacked boldness under Wladyslaw Gomulka. The relatively modest post October [1956] thaw was all that it took for practical conclusions to be drawn from the fact that the interests of Poland and the USSR are not identical. Gomulka left the Warsaw railway station equipped with a degree of public support that had not been enjoyed by any politician since Pilsudski and before Walesa and Mazowiecki. However, he only exploited this to a limited extent. While he was in power, Poland very rapidly and voluntarily renounced even the opportunity to pursue an independent policy in relations with its most important ally. Twelve years later the important step of signing the treaty with the FRG, a step that was taken independently of the USSR, had to be prepared in complete secrecy, as Ryszard Wojna recently wrote about in our columns.

However, let us not place all the blame on "Wieslaw" [Gomulka's pseudonym]. Perhaps this independently minded politician had drawn astute conclusions from the situation in which he and the entire party that he led found themselves. The right to rule came by way of obtaining an investiture in the Kremlin. The support of an enthusiastic society improved one's position in talks, but, at the same time, it was not conducive to winning the vital confidence of the dominant power. Gomulka understood that the Poles supported him as someone who was striving to achieve full sovereignty and independence. He had to make a choice, and he resolutely came down in favor of the true source of his power.

This is because the geopolitics engaged in by the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] was only superficially based around the Russia-Germany-Poland triangle. The danger of West German revisionism was keenly cited as a justification for strengthening alliance ties. However, the examples of Hungary in 1956 and, to a large extent, Czechoslovakia in 1968 showed that the factors conducive to remaining in the alliance were not geopolitical at all.

The ruling party's true geopolitics centered on an entirely different triangle: the Soviet leadership-the Polish authorities- and Polish society, which had still not been completely subordinated. The interest of the ruling party required it to preserve its monopoly on good contacts with the Soviet Union. What is more, despite all the backdrop of official celebrations of friendship between peoples—it was necessary to maintain a certain degree of potential tension in Polish-Soviet relations. It was only this kind of background that enabled the PZPR to obtain a dual form of legitimacy for its rule: the only element that could ensure that decisions were transmitted to a traditionally anti-Russian society in the eyes of the Soviet leadership and the sole representative of the national interest from the Polish viewpoint. It is not known whether Wladyslaw Gomulka did indeed stop

Nikita Khrushchev from revealing the truth about Katyn, but such an attitude would appear logical.

The patterns that we are discussing manifested themselves with particular clarity when "Solidarity," a force that provided the PZPR with competition, appeared on the Polish political scene. Until 1981 only small groups of Catholics who lacked more extensive influence sought to define an independent attitude toward the USSR. The neo-positivist members of ZNAK [group of Catholic intellectuals], above all Stanislaw Stomma and Stefan Kisielewski, cited geopolitical arguments, but, as Kisiel [pen name of Stanislaw Kisielewski] put it in one of his "bon mots," they did not know which Moscow number they had to dial. Boleslaw Piasecki of PAX [Catholic group close to authorities] attempted to play the Soviet card independently and tried to outbid the PZPR with fervent servility, but he was never treated as a serious partner.

"Solidarity" in its first form consciously refrained from entering international politics, especially in that area that was of the greatest importance for Poland. However, the course of events showed that this was a dangerous policy. The Brezhnev leadership scented a conspiracy on the part of world imperialism from the outset. Seeing that its monopoly was threatened, the governing elite in Poland at that time did all that it could to cultivate such suspicions. All anti-Soviet incidents were played up, but everything indicates that most of them were simply provoked.

A group of representatives of Poland's political and cultural life then came forward with the "35 Letter," which condemned the incidents and, at the same time, drew attention to the possibility of the alliance being guaranteed by all of society. However, the recipient of the declaration, which was issued by people who were high-minded, talented, and educated, did not consider it an adequate counterweight to the servile dependence of the apparatchiks. We know what happened after that in general terms, although not all the factors that determined the subsequent course of events have been explained.

The questions about the basic underlying pattern of our foreign policy have returned after an 8-year interval in a somewhat different form. The Soviet Union with Captain Gorbachev manning the bridge is sailing into the unknown and is being rocked by conflicts that sometimes look like mutinies by the crew. Tadeusz Mazowiecki is going to Moscow as the first non-communist premier in Poland's postwar history. Instead of threatening to intervene in Poland, Czechoslovakia and the GDR are themselves experiencing a "fall of nations" [as published]. The old geopolitical problems have returned unexpectedly quickly.

Chancellor Kohl brought the largest Western aid package, but he still maintains that he cannot guarantee our Western border on behalf of a united Germany. With the demolition of the wall, this has ceased to be an abstract prospect. M. F. Rakowski, whose party enjoys—according to reliable polls—the support of 3 percent of the electorate and is faced with a real prospect of disintegration, is repeating the old calls for a strengthening of the alliance in the face of the German enemy.

It would be a bad thing if someone who has real power—in the Kremlin, in the Belweder Palace, or in the Council of Ministers Palace— were to listen to the siren calls of M. F. Rakowski. We are moving along in the current of a fast flowing river, one whose bed consists of shifting sands. Old stereotypes, especially ones that history has made no longer pertinent, are the worst sources of advice in such cases. Of course, we do need permanent elements on which we can base ourselves, and these include, among others, partner-like friendship with the family of peoples that is seeking its own path toward development and freedom on the other side of our eastern border. However, the situation is a new one and in struggling with it, we should not repeat hackneyed stereotypes. There is no place for Pilsudski's Prometheism, the national egoism derived from Dmowski's views, or Gomulka's geopolitics involving the USSR and the FRG.

New times require new people who can realize new ideas. I believe that Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Mikhail Gorbachev can succeed in meeting this challenge.

'First Results' in Economy Expected Mid-1990

PM1412152589 London BBC Television Network in English 2230 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Interview with Foreign Minister Krzysztof Kubiszewski in Brussels by BBC news presenter Jeremy Paxman in London, on 13 December on the BBC 2 "Newsnight program—monitored in progress]

[Text] [Paxman] Well, the men and women who have to face the unprecedented challenge of retrieving their countries from 40 years of stagnation are the new democratic governments of the Eastern bloc. As I mentioned, the country most pressed is Poland, whose Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski was in Brussels to make his case today. I spoke to him a short time ago and began by asking how urgent were the problems his country faced.

[Skubiszewski] First, we must get loans to pay for the necessary imports, to make factories run, to make production run, and this is very important for the first half of the next year. Then the second point, we must get the stabilization loan—that is U.S. $1 billion to make our currency, the Polish currency, convertible on January the first, and this internal convertibility is a very important means to combat inflation, and without combating inflation, there won't be any reform.

[Paxman] Now, Mr Skubiszewski, the IMF has insisted upon certain conditions being met: that you impose an incomes policy; that you have a tighter monetary policy;

that you have an exchange rate policy. Politically, aren't some of those going to cause you grave problems in Poland?

[Skubiszewski] That is true as far as the conditions you have ennumerated are concerned. If the adoption of these conditions by the government—and I confirm that the government adopted them—causes any political troubles, it's still difficult to say. The Polish diet, the Polish parliament will discuss them very shortly. The patience of the people is not too strong—but still, you must understand one thing: There is no alternative in Poland to the existing government, and on that particular subject I am rather optimistic. I think the people will accept that because we hope that the first results will be visible in the second half of 1990.

[Paxman] But it is possible, isn't it, that they will cause, for example, unemployment? Now do you think that the Polish people are going to be prepared to tolerate rising levels of unemployment as well?

[Skubiszewski] There will be unemployment, but at the moment we have no idea how large this would be. People in a former socialist country—because we are no longer a socialist country except some remnants—don't like the idea of unemployment, but this will be a necessity they have to accept.

[Paxman] But this is a politically very dangerous course for you, isn't it?

[Skubiszewski] It is, but there is no other way, and we plan for it first: We prepare for professional reeducation of people, and then we have certain means to help those groups of the populations which will be hit most severely.

[Paxman] Do you think that the sort of sums that are being talked about—by comparison, of course, with the original Marshall Plan, these are really very small sums—are they anything like enough to save your country?

[Skubiszewski] Well, the sums I mentioned are not the only ones. We shall very soon get the first loan from the International Monetary Fund; there is also some specific possibility of getting some help from the World Bank; and of course, there is the group of 24 countries which met today in Brussels, and they are ready to help us. On the whole, I would say that the help we are getting is considerable.

[Paxman] And are you impressed by those people who suggest that there is a risk—given how much your country is already in debt—of throwing good money after bad?

[Skubiszewski] No. There is no such risk because the government's changed; the policy's changed; the program of economic reform is specific and detailed: It has nothing in common with the mistakes committed by previous governments. The situation is new, so I don't think money will be lost.

OPZZ Rejects Walesa Idea on Government Powers

LD1412191689 Warsaw PAP in English
2141 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 13—A statement of the Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) published today comes out against Lech Walesa's proposal to vest the government with special powers.

They boil down the introduction of the peculiar "martial law" in the economy, "restricting civic laws and the elimination of all trade unions from the public life," OPZZ claimed.

The Secretariat of the OPZZ Executive Committee expressed the conviction that "working people, all trade unionists and the whole society will properly assess this unprecedented assault on the democratic freedoms which were won in Poland with so much effort."

Solidarity Protests Statement

LD1412232889 Warsaw PAP in English
2223 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Gdansk, Dec 14—Solidarnosc press spokesman Jaroslaw Kurski today presented a statement of the Executive Committee of the OPZZ [National Confederation of Trade Unions] trade union alliance on Lech Walesa's proposal of granting the government special powers. The statement reads in part:

"The Secretriat of the OPZZ Executive Committee, acting through Mr Waclaw Martyniuk, presented a curious statement to the public opinion. According to the OPZZ, in forwarding the proposal of special powers for the government, Lech Walesa entered a car named 'dictatorship' and proposed to 'introduce martial law in the economy.'

"Where the OPZZ discerned this woeful proposal remains its secret. The words 'dictatorship' or 'martial law' ring insincerely when uttered by people who just a year ago professed the principle of 'one union in one plant' and built their trade unions under the legal system of martial law.

"The OPZZ Secretariat is convinced that 'society will correctly evaluate this unprecedented assault on democratic freedoms which were won in our country with such difficulty.' As goes for the contribution of the OPZZ to the democratization of Poland, good manners compel one not to dwell on this subject."

OKP Statement on Martial Law Anniversary

LD1412142889 Warsaw PAP in English
1219 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 13—The Presidium of the citizens' Parliamentary Club (OKP) issued a statement which reads:

"December 13, 1981, was a tragic day for Poland, which could have thwarted the Polish national chances for long.

"We solemnly pay homage to the fallen miners from the Wujek Pit, from Lubin and other places where Poles were dying to defend the Solidarity ideas. Today we know that the sacrifices have not been wasted, we have transformed the ideas of August, 1980 into the epoch of the 1989 East European " Spring of Peoples".

"The years of struggle for the right to have a say in our own country are already behind us. The state is becoming ours but we have to mend a lot in it, above all, we have to take the Polish economy out of the catastrophy. We are now entering a painful path of fundamental changes which restore the hope for decent living conditions. Poland must win. This time no one will hamper us in this (striving)."

Commission on 'Hasty' Gdansk Shipyard Decision

LD1412103189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] We have just received news that the special commission for analysis and evaluation of the conduct of the last government has decided that the decision to liquidate the Gdansk shipyard, made by former premier Rakowski, was hasty and was not considered by the government. In addition, there was no consultation with the trade unions, and no experts' assessments were solicited. The commission has decided to ask the State Tribunal to examine the constitutional liability of the persons who made the decision.

Rightist Shift in Polish Society Assailed

PM3011150589 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 18 Nov 89 p 15

[Ryszard Marek Gronski article: "The Infantile Right-Wing Disorder"]

[Text] If, at some point in the near future, someone opens a museum of the system which used to be called Stalinism, or barracks-style socialism, I do not doubt that we will find there, among other exhibits on display, the pair of boots from the statue of the Generalissimus, which was pulled down in Budapest in 1956, a length of barbed wire from the Hungarian-Austrian border, and a brick from the Berlin Wall.... The Polish Room will surely be lined with display cases featuring manuscripts of the confessions of our intellectual authorities of 1989, in which they explain, for the benefit of future generations, why they had collaborated in the creation of a system from which they then attempted to distance themselves for the rest of their lives. Thus we will find there the medical records of a certain humanist who told his readers that he had "simply gone mad" in those dark and grim times: His party card was just a certificate of insanity. Another display case will gladden the eye of the visitor with the sight of a large, yellowed fang—the perpetrator of the famous "Hegelian bite" suffered by yet another victim. The fang, of course, did the biting all of its own accord—just like the stick in the fairy tale, which would beat people until they were black and blue. A little further on you will be able to read a confessional note in which a certain writer—who had at one time accused a colleague of high treason by depicting him as a thoroughly reprehensible character in a short story which was simply bursting with all-too-transparent pointers of a very personal nature—assures us, to the accompaniment of much chest-pounding, that he had never intended to portray any real-life person in his story; far from it—it was all fiction simple and pure. Today he is ashamed of it, although it is whole years, not months, since it came out.

This is merely an assumption, but I expect that many of the exhibits in the Polish Room will have one thing in common: shame. Not some lofty-sounding infamy, but ordinary, human embarrassment at certain words which cannot be rubbed out with an imported eraser, and certain actions which cannot be forgotten. Their memory will eventually rise to the surface like dead fish as a warning to those who had the good fortune to be born later, during times that were just a little easier. But even they are not free from moments of shame when they remember certain past situations, certain small acts of cowardice, the times when they kept silent, the instances when they chose to lie low or use delaying tactics, the moments when they renounced their own convictions.

All Utopian dreams look different when they are still dreams. With those that have been made true there is always a zone of shame somewhere, which becomes highlighted when the hour of truth approaches. A bleak hour, against the coming of which we should all amass good deeds: Only these can save us from ourselves as we once were.

It is not my intention to investigate other people's biographies and bring to light their unredeemed sins. There are already plenty of knights of noble virtue and plenty of morality analysts who examine with meticulous care the degree to which someone or other has compromised himself on television, declare the worry lines on someone else's face insincere or some other culprit's smile deceitful, and decide who deserves the triumphal arch and the burning of incense. If I touch on this subject at all (and it is a subject that arouses passionate public feelings comparable only to those stirred by the rate of exchange of the U.S. dollar), I do it, as it were, in the spirit of a futuristic discipline. I am interested in the shame that people will come to feel tomorrow, the day after tomorrow, or the day after that. What shame will they feel, those participants in events which change what had seemed unchangeable and thaw out the permafrost of the past era?

I do not know, perhaps I am wrong, perhaps I am simply looking for consolation "laced" with a dash of optimism. But it seems to me that a feeling of shame will eventually surface when we remember one day how easily the ethos

of the Right gained a throng of faithful followers, who promptly dismissed the values of authentic socialism —which is not attached to any party or any other transient organizational structure, nor to any power system that wields a policeman's truncheon in one hand and a censor's pencil in the other: a socialism that has invariably projected mankind's dreams of equality, justice, victory over evil, and standing arm in arm with all those who push back the frontiers of human freedom. It is in vogue these days to have a right-wing orientation. The charge of having leftist leanings is one of the gravest accusations to be leveled against anyone appearing on our political stage today. Consequently, the right side of that stage—even the extreme right, "to the right of Czar Nicholas," as they used to say in the old days—is packed with a noisy, self-congratulatory, jubilant crowd. The National Party publishes its own organ, GLOS NARODU [Voice of the Nation], in which it promises a campaign against the wets who dare to ask for the abolition of capital punishment and the degenerates who dared to turn up their noses at the publications peddled in the church porch in Zagorna Street, where, as we remember, you could purchase a copy of "The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion" or other equally distinguished works worthy of adorning the library shelves in our Common European Home.

The shift to the right is also becoming noticeable in the field of literary criticism and popular preference. It is no accident that Jozef Mackiewicz has recently been rediscovered. His literary rank has been elevated and the witnesses who still remembered the collaborationist episode in the biography of the author of "Kontra" have been successfully silenced. However, leaving aside the literary circles, the real-life drama which is now being enacted before our very eyes and which you could entitle "The Commie Hunt" features certain dramatic developments and dialogues which are comprehensible only here, on the banks of the Vistula. It would be unthinkable anywhere else to sing loud praises of a 19-century model of capitalism, to make a fetish of the market economy, to offer fulsome adulation to certain politicians, who are much less popular in their own countries because it is, for some reason, not considered good form to go into raptures over the curtailing of social welfare benefits, the privatization of water, the ruthless attitude to the poor, and the granting of tax concessions to the most wealthy.

I know: I stand no chance of convincing anyone. The old adage claiming that the most ardent champions of the Left are to be found in the West and the firmest adherents of the Right in the East has become applicable again. But I would like to warn all those who are scurrying over to the Right like so many lemmings that they will find a common language not with the elites [of the West] but with the political fringes: scattered groups of nationalists, bigoted nobodies, and orphaned children of colonial empires. The decline of the Stalinist system is irrelevant here. In the meantime, the world has shifted to the Left and adopted quite a few ideas from the intellectual repository of both the early and more recent socialists. Our right-wingers' posturings and the pious faces they make will be reflected only in a distorting mirror at a provincial fair.

The infantile right-wing disorder sometimes assumes an unintentionally comical guise. Take, for example, a manifesto published in issue 46 of LAD [Order] and entitled "Campaign for the Creation of an Association of Former Landed Gentry." It is a deeply moving text. "It is high time we lifted our heads high and remembered our lineage. Disinherited from our ancestral hearths, scattered throughout the country, many of us in exile, we should nevertheless remind ourselves and others that it was our forefathers, the knights of Duke Boleslaw Chrobry and King Boleslaw Krzywousty, who had laid the cornerstones of Polish statehood. It was our forefathers who staunchly defended the Jagiellonian monarchy at Grunwald, and who with their swords wrought the glory of Polish arms in the battles of Kircholm, Klushin, and Vienna...."

That was one of the final fragments of the document, whose opening chapter is no less interesting: "We belong to a social stratum which was the first to fall victim to communist repressions. Each of us will forever remember the time of the agrarian reform—either from their own recollection or their parents' accounts...." Well, then: Whether we want it or not, we shall now have to cancel the agrarian reform and restore the prerepression era, all for the sake of historical justice and amends for past wrongs—even though the Polish Peasant Party itself supported the reform at the time. If the reform had not taken place, who knows whether Jozef Slisz would have been able to set up the Private Farmers' Solidarity today. Count Lubomirski would presumably not have joined the union then, nor would I set high hopes on the Count Potockis.... But these are trivial matters. The Dispossesed Gentlefolk must be compensated for their dreadful sufferings: "Those who could, emigrated to the West; others attempted—after the first wave of terror had passed—to join in the day-to-day life of the Polish People's Republic, accepting inferior and poorly paid jobs, usually a far cry from what their education, qualifications, and preferences had prepared them for...."

Here I spared a thought for Editor Ignacy Krasicki [eminent political journalist and television personality], who for so many, many years had to endure the trials and tribulations of a poorly paid job which, to make matters worse, was so sadly incompatible with his preferences. I thought of Dominik Horodynski [prominent journalist and foreign correspondent, chief editor of KULTURA weekly], whose only protector turned out to be a local boy from his old estate, now an activist of the party apparatus. And I thought of Madam Senator, destitute after the land partitioning, left with only her grand name and a father who was forced to instruct Bolshevik diplomats in the art of using the fork and the knife.... Tears welled up in my eyes.

To make matters worse, would-be members of the Association of Former Landed Gentry are invited to contact the founder of the movement, who lives in Gdansk... where? There you have it: in Czerwonego Sztandaru [Red Flag] Street. "The people's flag is of the deepest red, for it is stained with workers' blood"—well, really, this is the ultimate in loathsome persecution. And we know full well whose perverse idea that was!

'Infantile Right-Wing' Groups Attacked

PM3011142189 Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 15 Nov 89 p 3

[Zbigniew Niemcewicz article: "The Infantile Right-Wing Disorder"]

[Text] We have a real epidemic on our hands. Everywhere you look, new groups and organizations that describe themselves as center right-wing, right-wing, and extreme right-wing, are spreading like wildfire. Take, for example, the Polish Independence Party which competes with the Confederation for Independent Poland for the hearts and minds of the faithful and calls itself a party of the new Right. The Right is perhaps new, but the slogans it uses are old and somewhat hackneyed.

On November 11, no less than 11 such groups and organizations joined an "independent" rally [in Gdansk] and later issued a joint declaration. Its signatories were: the National Commission of the Fighting Youth Federation; the "Self-Determination" Political Group; the Clubs in the Service of National Independence; the National Solidarity Congress; The "Solidarity" Independence Party; the Independent National Veterans' Movement; the Independent Home Army [AK] Veterans' Movement; the Free Poland Organization; the Polish Independence Party; the Solidarity Youth; and the Polish Republic Borderlands Guard. It is not clear why the declaration was not signed by representatives of the Fighting Solidarity group which was the chief organizer of the rally and whose members took an active part in it.

If we are to draw any conclusions from the number of the participants gathered under the King John III [Sobieski] statue in Dlugi Targ Street, the numerical strength of the groups listed in the declaration appears to be negligible. There were only about 100 people there, including chance passersby. But we must not be too petty-minded. Pilsudski's Legionnaires were none too numerous either, but the essence of the phenomenon did not depend on the arithmethic. Our present-day independence fighters are combative, uncompromising, and determined to carry on with their struggle until they emerge victorious—without giving undue consideration to adversities.

This is precisely why they organized the rally: To emphasize their protest against, to quote them, "the policy of the conciliatory opposition which leads to a protracted presence of a communist regime in our country." The declaration goes on: "We never cease to strive for a restoration of independence and remain loyal and faithful to the lawful authorities of the Polish Republic in Exile, headed by President Ryszard Kaczorowski, the Government, and the National Council, which act in accordance with the legitimate Constitution of the Polish Republic of 23 April 1935."

It would be difficult to formulate the problem more clearly and unequivocally. If the London government is the only legitimate government, then the one operating in Warsaw cannot represent anything other than a regime of the "conciliatory opposition" which collaborates with the "commies." The premier of the Polish People's Republic, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, as well as the Senate Speaker, are mere representatives of a formation arisen as a result of "colonial dependence." Such a definition of the government and the parliament appeared in an article printed in ANTYMANTYKA, a publication of the Fighting Youth Federation (issue no. 25 of 11 November).

How, then, do members of those groups—groups hostile to the "conciliators" and rejecting even Walesa and his Solidarity as being unacceptably left-wing—imagine their legitimate, independent, and sovereign Poland would look like? It is not hard to guess, considering that the shared elements and motives of all their endeavors are extreme anticommunism, total anti-left orientation, and an anti-Sovietism manifested in the ritual chanting of such slogans as "Soviets go home!" and similar expressions of hostility.

The aforementioned declaration contains a demand for a withdrawal of the troops of Soviet Russia from the Eastern Polish territories appropriated by the USSR as well as from the territory of the Polish People's Republic. "The Eastern border of the Polish Republic is defined 'de jure' by the Riga Peace Treaty of 19 March 1921. The Polish-German border on the Oder and Neisse Rivers constitutes an act of historic justice and an essential element of security in Europe. On the other hand, the neocolonial Soviet enclave around Krolewiec [Kaliningrad] should be unconditionally abolished and restored to Poland and Lithuania."

Unfortunately, the authors do not suggest any concrete method according to which this operation should be carried out, nor do they comment on the somewhat conflicting claims voiced by the Ukrainian nationalist groups which have recently demanded that Chelm and Przemysl be returned to them.

There is one more enemy, apart from communism and Sovietism, against which a war is being waged. The same issue of ANTYMANTYKA carries an article which claims that "for quite a while now the attacks directed by international Jewry against a center of Catholic cult on the site of the former extermination camp have caused a public outrage in Poland. Living as we do in a Catholic country, do we need permission from Tel Aviv to erect a building for the

purposes of our religious cult? This is hard to understand, but the Jews are indeed demanding just such a procedure. Any form of self-defense against the Pole-hating Jews is interpreted as anti-Semitism—and this is a serious accusation, followed inevitably by economic restrictions, cancelling of credits, and so on. Consequently, Poland's dependence on Jewish money is increasing and it will increase even more after the expected influx of the coveted foreign capital."

Well, the Right has always been anti-Semitic and chauvinistic. Personally I would prefer not to live to see the realization of its ambitions. This is because a Poland organized and run according to the ideas of those right-wingers would be an extremely unpleasant country, where democracy, tolerance, and pluralism would not stand a remote chance. We can only hope that, given time, all these people—who are, after all, still very young—will eventually be cured of their infantile right-wing disorder.

Dissident Doina Cornea on Hunger Strike

AU1412102489 Vienna KURIER in German 14 Dec 89 p 3

[Text] As has been reported only now, Romanian dissident Doina Cornea has been on hunger strike since 30 November. Most recently the opposition member, who has been under house arrest for 7 years, created excitement with an open letter in which she asked former King Mihai to save Romania.

Assembly, Council Elections Scheduled for 11 March

AU1112211289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1823 GMT 11 Dec 89

["Elections of Deputies in Romania on March 11, 1990"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 11/12/1989—The Executive Political Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] analyzed and endorsed in the meeting of December 11, 1989, the proposals regarding the organization of the general elections of deputies to the Grand National Assembly (Romania's Parliament) and the People's Councils (the local bodies of state power) that will take place on March 11, 1990. It was decided that the proposals regarding the organization of the elections be submitted to the plenary meeting of the CC of the RCP for debate.

GNA Session Resumes; Ceausescu Present

AU1412101989 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0900 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Excerpts] The Grand National Assembly [GNA] of the Socialist Republic of Romania resumed proceedings in the plenum this morning.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu were greeted in the Parliament Hall with a good deal of applause by the deputies and guests in attendance.

The session's agenda is as follows:

1. Draft Bill on the Uniform National Socioeconomic Development Plan of the Socialist Republic of Romania for 1990.

2. Draft Bill on the Uniform National Development Plan of Agriculture, Food Industry, Forestry, and Water Administration for 1990.

3. Draft Bill on the State Budget of the Socialist Republic of Romania for 1990.

4. Draft Bill on the Responsibility of Socialist Units Toward Defending and Developing the Patrimony Entrusted to Them by Society and on the Establishment, Organization, and Operation of the Higher Council for the Coordination of Economic, Financial, and Social Control.

5. Draft Bills for Endorsing Decrees Incorporating Norms with Power of Law Issued by the State Council.

After the opening of the session and the presentation of the agenda, Comrade Ioan Totu, chairman of the State Committee for Planning and Technical-Material Supply, presented the report on the bill concerning the Uniform National Socioeconomic Development Plan and the Bill concerning the Development Plan for Agriculture, Food Industry, Forestry, and Water Administration. [passage omitted]

During the proceedings, Finance Minister Comrade Ion Patan took the floor and presented the report on the draft bill concerning the State Budget for 1990. [passage omitted]

Comrade Manea Manescu, vice chairman of the Higher Council for Socioeconomic Development, then presented the council's joint report on the three draft bills and a report on the draft bill concerning the Responsibility of Socialist Units Toward Defending and Developing the Patrimony Entrusted to Them by Society and on the Establishment, Organization, and Operation of the Higher Council for the Coordination of Economic, Financial, and Social Control.

The proceedings of the Grand National Assembly continue.

Legislative Chamber Discusses Plans, Budgets

AU1312193989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1830 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 13/12/1989—Part and parcel of the revolutionary worker democracy in Romania, the Legislative Chamber of the People's Councils debated and analyzed on December 13 bills meant to ensure the implementation of the five-year plan for 1986-1990 in the best conditions, as an important component of the party program of building the multilaterally developed socialist society and Romania's advance to communism.

The participants in the proceedings unanimously endorsed the following agenda: the Draft Single National Plan of Socioeconomic Development of Romania by Territorial Units in 1990; the Draft Plan of Development of Agriculture, Food Industry, Silviculture and Water Management of Romania in 1990; the Draft Local Budgets for 1990.

The works of the Legislative Chamber were opened by Manea Manescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], vice-president of the State Council.

The participants in the debates that took place assessed highly the decisive role of Nicolae Ceausescu in the whole process of building modern Socialist Romania, in

establishing the fundamental directions for the country's development, for raising it to new summits of progress and civilization.

Analyzing the Draft Single National Plan of Socioeconomic Development of Romania by Territorial Units in 1990, the participants in the debates stressed that its provisions extensively reflected the coordinates of the RCP and Romanian state's economic policy, ensured the further harmonious development of the productive forces all over the country, the increase of the national income, the improvement of the social relations, the steady raising of the degree of civilization, of the material and spiritual living standard of the people.

Extensive debates covered measures to ensure the achievement of a high rate of development of the Romanian national economy, the powerful growth of the country's own base of energy and raw materials, the most efficient use of the material and financial resources, to help in lowering the specific consumption and material expenditures, raising the technical and qualitative level of products, promoting the peak technologies, expanding the mechanization and automation of the manufacturing processes, increasing the labour productivity in all compartments.

Stressing the decisive importance of the implementation of the tasks established by Nicolae Ceausescu in connection with the need for completing soonest the process of organization, modernization and specialization of all compartments of activity, the speakers extensively presented the preoccupations for the exemplary fulfilment of the programs endorsed in this connection, for their further improvement, in view of bettering the activity in the whole economy.

As far as the small-scale industry and the services are concerned a number of measures and concrete actions have been taken with a view to developing and diversifying the output of household appliances and implements, and to improving the cooperation with the national industry in order to materialize to the letter the goals in the current five-year plan.

The debates on the draft plan for the development of agriculture, the food industry, silviculture and water management in 1990 have pointed to its mobilizing nature and to now particularly important its provisions are for the implementation of the goals and tasks of the new agrarian revolution.

Setting out from the important tasks incumbent on the food industry, speakers approached the way to implement the set programmes which are meant to modernize the relevant enterprises over a short span of time, to enhance, diversify and improve the quality of foods with a view to keeping the population properly supplied daily.

Also presented were the measures concerning the materialization of the silvicultural programmes, of aforestation and the exploitation of wood, as well as of those concerning the management of waters and the complex capitalization of the existing hydraulic potential with a view to meeting the needs of the national economy and of the population while preserving the ecological balance.

An important place was held during the proceedings by debates over the bill concerning the local budgets for 1990, a debate which pointed out these budgets to be fully in agreement with the indices in the single national plan of economic and social development and to provide the due financial resources required to implement the goals and tasks stipulated, with all the administrative and territorial units proceeding according to self-financing and with the economic efficiency growing in all the domains and sectors of activity.

The participants in the debate appreciated highly the resolution of the recent joint plenary meeting of the CC of the RCP regarding the creation of the Superior Council for Coordination of the Economic, Financial, and Social Control.

Pointing out the documents submitted for debate to be fully tenable and that the counties have all conditions in place for their implementation, the Legislative Chamber passed unanimously resolutions whereby the bills on the agenda were approved.

These documents are to be submitted for debate and passed into law by the Grand National Assembly which is to resume on December 14, 1989.

Results of CC Plenum; Ceausescu Speaks

AU1212204689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1930 GMT 12 Dec 89

["Joint Plenary Meeting of the CC of the RCP and of the Supreme Council of Economic and Social Development"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 12/12/1989 —The works of the joint plenary meeting of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], of the Standing Bureau and of the bureaus of the sections of the Supreme Council of Economic and Social Development continued on December 12 under the chairmanship of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP.

The plenum unanimously endorsed the Draft Single National Plan of Economic and Social Development of Romania in 1990, the Draft Plan of Development of Agriculture, Food Industry, Silviculture and Water Management in 1990, the Draft Centralized Financial Plan of Socioeconomic Development and the Draft State Budget of Romania for 1990.

The plenary meeting decided that all these documents that ensure by their provisions the further development of the national economy, the modernization of the activity in industry and agriculture, in all domains of socioeconomic life, should be debated and endorsed in the session of the Grand National Assembly (the parliament).

The plenum endorsed the decision on the organization of general elections of deputies to the Grand National Assembly and the people's councils that are due on March 11, 1990.

The plenum decided on the creation of the Higher Control of Coordination of the Activity of Economic, Financial and Social Control that ensures the unitary leadership of the whole activity of control, the coordination and guidance of all bodies and organizations that exercise control attributes according to the law. It was decided that the proposal on the setting up of that body of coordination of the control should be submitted to the Grand National Assembly for debate.

The plenary meeting of the CC of RCP endorsed the composition of the Central Party Collegium.

The plenum also endorsed the commissions by questions of the party's CC and their composition. It was decided that besides the commissions in existence a special commission should be created, the commission for questions, for raising the living standard and self-supply, the task of which is the fulfilment in the best of conditions of the plan provisions regarding the raising of the people's material and spiritual welfare.

The participants in the joint plenary meeting unanimously endorsed and assessed highly the stand expressed by Nicolae Ceausescu, leader of the RCP and Romanian state, at the summit meeting of the heads of the Warsaw Treaty states, held in Moscow, on December 4, 1989.

At the close of the proceedings, Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary, took the floor.

Ceausescu Speech to CC Plenum

AU1212195489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1905 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 12/12/1989—Taking the floor on December 12 at the close of the plenary meeting of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], the party's general secretary showed that it debated and endorsed unanimously the plans of socioeconomic development, in the domains of industry, agriculture and the other sectors, as well as the centralized financial plan and the budget for 1990, documents that pursue the fulfilment of the 1986-1990 five-year plan in the best of conditions. Likewise, resolutions were endorsed on the organization of the activity of the party in view of improving the leadership, that should ensure the unfolding in the best of conditions of the activity of the Central Committee elected by the 14th congress.

The speaker then referred to the measures to be taken for the fulfilment of this year's plan in the best of conditions and for securing the thorough preparation of next year's plan, stressing the necessity of enhancing the responsibility of producer enterprises for the commissioning and adequate operation of the complex equipment with the new investment projects, the performance in due time and at high qualitative level of the overhauling, the securing of the technical-material supply for all sectors, the recovery and reuse of materials, subassemblies and various sources of energy.

As for agriculture, Nicolae Ceausescu stressed the necessity that all operations be performed in due time, the land stock, and the technical-material base be completely used, so as to get crops in keeping with plan provisions, that should ensure good supplies to the population, the meeting of the requirements of industrial activity and of other sectors.

In keeping with the program of self-management and self-supply, we should pay due heed, daily, to an adequate supply of the population with farm food products, with the other products, the speaker stressed.

Starting from the target of intensive development of the activity in all domains, we should ensure the best employment of the fixed assets and focus the activity on raising the technical and qualitative level of the whole production, he said, showing that for this the activity of scientific research should be improved, of fast application to production of the latest gains of science and technology, as well as the activity of education, of raising the professional, technical, scientific level of all working people. The speaker stressed in that connection the requirement that the whole activity be focussed on the achievement of the exportable production in due time and at a highest technical and qualitative level.

We must develop the cooperation in production with the socialist countries, with the developing countries, as well as with the developed capitalist countries, with all states of the world, in the spirit of fully equal rights, mutual advantage, actively participating in the international division of labour. This is an objective requirement of socioeconomic progress, of the policy of collaboration and peace in the world, the RCP general secretary stressed.

Pointing out that the plenary meeting unanimously endorsed the centralized financial plan and the state budget for 1990, Nicolae Ceausescu mentioned that the provisions in those documents ensured the necessary financial means, the fulfilment in good conditions of the plan and programs for 1990, the means both for the consumption fund and for the accumulation fund.

Nicolae Ceausescu assessed the country's financial situation as good, even very good. In this five-year period, he mentioned, we have had an active balance every year and an important rise in the active balance is expected for 1990. On this basis, we were able to write off in the first quarter of this year debts of the cooperative producer farms amounting to some 115 billion lei which is a great, very great aid given to socialist agriculture by our state.

Thanks to the same financial stability, the speaker added, we were able to pay off our foreign debt at the end of the first quarter.

Nicolae Ceausescu then pointed out that since the payment of the foreign debt to the day, the necessary measures were taken to consolidate the valuta reserve, so that Romania had important valuta reserves in various forms. Convertible currency included, we plan, he said, to develop and consolidate the valuta reserves in various forms, as a requisite of stability of the economy and of providing conditions for the implementation of the programs of economic and social development of the homeland.

Mentioning that 2.6 billion dollars and 1.4 billion roubles were due to Romania from credits granted in previous years, Nicolae Ceausescu highlighted the importance of that money as a financial reserve of the country.

The leader of the RCP and Romanian state then pointed out that action had to be taken in such a way as to consolidate and provide conditions for the strengthening of the national currency and for a gradual passage to the convertibility of the lei.

Stressing that the budget incomes for the next year come over 98 per cent from the socialist sector, over 94 per cent of which from the state socialist sector, Nicolae Ceausescu highlighted the importance of the socialist property, the whole people's or cooperative, that ensures the socialist and communist future of Romania.

Referring then to the decision endorsed by the plenum on the improvement and strengthening of the control in all sectors or activity, Nicolae Ceausescu said "we have established to improve the organization and coordination of the control activity, by setting up a higher council of economic-financial and social control, as a body that should rally all extant control bodies, ensure the unitary coordination and guidance of control in all domains, while enlarging the attributions, including through the setting up of a court of justice within this body of coordination of the economic, financial and social control, that should be able to sue anyone who violates the country's law, in any domain of activity, and the decisions of which become compulsory. We have contemplated endorsing this law at the current session of the Grand National Assembly with a provision stipulating that, after six months of functioning, if improvements prove to be necessary, we should submit them to the Grand National Assembly and make then final these control bodies.

Starting from the broad development of the revolutionary worker democracy, we must also firmly apply the measures, so as not to allow any violation of the country's laws, of the decisions of concern to our whole people, Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, adding that the whole activity should be imbued with responsibility for the interests of socialism, for the people, and everything that is being done should serve socialism, the people, the country's independence and sovereignty.

In connection with the decision of the plenary meeting that elections for the Grand National Assembly and the people's councils be held on March 11, 1990, Nicolae Ceausescu mentioned that by its provisions the system of making nominations is improved, the number of constituencies where two or three nominations for a seat are made is increased, representing for the Grand National Assembly circa 60 per cent and going up to 90 per cent for the commune people's councils. All candidates should be discussed beforehand in meetings of the electorate and only those who are up to the exigencies and will of the electorate should be included in the lists of nominations. The speaker then stressed that all deputies, starting with the Grand National Assembly deputies, all those that will be elected on the people's councils must enjoy the support and confidence of the people and bear in mind that they assume before the people the responsibility to work for the steady implementation of the resolutions of the 14th congress of the party, to ensure the general progress of all localities, of the whole country.

Referring then to the steps endorsed by the plenum, for the organization of the Central Committee's Collegium and commissions by questions, deciding the setting up of a new commission the commission for living standard and self-supply, Nicolae Ceausescu said inter alia: this must induce a by far more active and permanent preoccupation for the implementation in the best of conditions of the provisions in the plans of raising the people's material and spiritual living standard. We think that the setting up of a special commission will ensure the daily control of the way how various bodies fulfill in the best of conditions their role in this decisive sector of socialist construction activity. Sure, we pursue an enhanced responsibility also of the Grand National Assembly and of the commissions of the Grand National Assembly.

In the foreign policy section of the speech, referring to the Moscow meeting of the leaders of the Warsaw Treaty countries, President Nicolae Ceausescu said inter alia: I made a point, at that meeting, of presenting very briefly a few mentions on some questions, although there is a lot to be said. A meeting of party and state leaders of socialist countries that should not discuss the development questions of these countries—the more so as some of them live through difficult problems—that should not discuss how to work in order to ensure the development of socialist construction is inconceivable for us. That is why I stressed it was necessary to reach a meeting the soonest, where we should discuss these problems, starting from the interests of building socialism in every country, of socialism in general, as part and parcel of the struggle for progress and peace. One cannot speak of peace, of progress without ensuring the lastingness of socialism in our countries, without the progress and welfare of the socialist peoples, the progress of all nations of the world.

Ceausescu Chairs PEC Meeting on Economic Issues

AU1112204789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1821 GMT 11 Dec 89

["Meeting of Executive Political Committee of CC of RCP"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 11/12/1989—Under the chairmanship of Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP [Romanian Communist Party] general secretary, a meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP was held on December 11, to analyze the draft single national plan for Romania's socioeconomic development in 1990; the draft plan for the development of agriculture, food industry, forestry, and water management in 1990; the amended drafts of the centralized financial plan of socioeconomic development; and of the state budget of Romania for 1990.

Approving these drafts, the Executive Political Committee decided that these documents, based on the resolutions endorsed by the 14th RCP Congress and the provisions of the current five-year plan, be submitted for debate to the plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee and then to the Grand National Assembly for discussion and approval.

Then, the Executive Political Committee decided, upon Nicolae Ceausescu's proposal, that the working people in the state economic units be granted in December an advance sum of 1.7 billion lei from the annual fund of participation in the achievement of production, of profits and in profit-sharing. The sums to be given in December are established in differentiated percentages from the monthly remuneration fund, a bigger percentage being granted to the working personnel with remunerations of up to 2,500 lei. This year, the additional incomes made by the working people through the tariff pay rise and the increase of the variable part of the total incomes, amount to 24.9 billion lei, plus 1.7 billion lei to be paid in December out of the annual fund of partaking in profits. The other part of the fund for the working people's participation in the achievement of production, of profits and in partaking the profits, including the sums resulted from the 0.5 per cent rise in the quotas of formation of this fund, is to be paid in 1990, after the conclusion of the sum-up-based activity. This measure ensures a more marked increase of the variable part of the total incomes of the working people, just like the recent measures of pay rise, the growth of extra price-rate-pay, the assignment of incentives for the exportable production and the rise in the quotas for the formation of the fund of profit-sharing.

The Executive Political Committee approved the proposals for the organization of the celebrations marking the 1990 New Year's Eve and Winter Tree. For the traditional Winter Tree celebration, the mass and public organizations provided out of their own incomes the necessary funds which exceed 273 million lei for the benefit of about 4,000,000 children.

The Executive Political Committee approved the proposal regarding the organization of the State Committee for Prices as a department of the Ministry of Finances, which was shown to ensure the firm and unitary application of the financial and price levers, a better correlation of the financial plans, to help increase the economic efficiency in all fields of activity.

The Executive Political Committee decided the transfer of the frontier guards' units from the subordination of the Ministry of National Defence to the subordination of the Ministry of the Interior, and the creation of the Higher Council of Coordination of the Control on the Economic, Financial and Social Activity, as a party and state body.

The Executive Political Committee endorsed the proposals on the composition of the Central Party Collegium and of the commissions by questions of the CC of the RCP. Both proposals are to be submitted for debate and endorsement to the plenum of the Party's CC.

PEC Discusses Ceausescu, Gorbachev Meeting

AU1112203089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1829 GMT 11 Dec 89

["High Appreciation"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 11/12/1989—During the 11 December meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], an account was read of the meeting between Nicolae Ceausescu and Mikhail Gorbachev at the summit of the leaders of the Warsaw Treaty states, held in Moscow on 4 December, 1989.

The Executive Political Committee assessed that during the meeting and talks between Nicolae Ceausescu and Mikhail Gorbachev—which are part of the traditional Romanian-Soviet summitry—the joint wish was expressed to further work to expand the collaboration between the RCP and the CPSU, between Romania and the Soviet Union, both bilaterally and internationally.

The Executive Political Committee was highly appreciative of and unanimously approved the position expressed by Nicolae Ceausescu at the summit of the leaders of Warsaw Treaty states showing it to fully agree to the orientations set by the 14th RCP Congress, the Romanian people's interests and aspirations, the general cause of socialism and peace the world over.

The Executive Political Committee reiterated the RCP and Socialist Romania's resolve to work to develop the links with all socialist countries, to strengthen their unity, solidarity and collaboration, both in the socialist construction and in the struggle for disarmament, collaboration and peace. In context, it was stressed that a summit of socialist countries should be organized in the shortest delay, to discuss jointly the problems related to the development of socialist construction in these countries .

Ceausescu Receives New Indian Ambassador

AU1112210589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1927 GMT 11 Dec 89

["President Nicolae Ceausescu Receives Ambassador of the Republic of India on Presenting his Credentials"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 11/12/1989—Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania, received Monday, 11 December, Julio Francis Ribeira, who presented his credentials as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of India in Romania.

Handing over the credentials, Ambassador Julio Francis Ribeira, conveyed President Nicolae Ceausescu, warm congratulations on his reinvestiture to the high office of RCP [Romanian Communist Party] general secretary, and best wishes of good health and happiness, of progress and prosperity for the Romanian people, from President Ramaswamy Venkataraman of India, the Indian Government and people.

In the ambassador's address, special appreciation is given to the successes scored by the Romanian people in the socioeconomic development of the homeland, and it is shown that new prospects exist for the development of the cooperation between India and Romania in all fields of activity, in keeping with the growing economic potential of the two countries.

Receiving the credentials, President Nicolae Ceausescu thanked for the congratulations and wishes and conveyed to the president of India his warm salute, wishes of good health and personal happiness, of peace and prosperity for the friendly Indian people.

In President Nicolae Ceausescu's address, the fine relations of friendship and collaboration which develop between Romania and India are brought to the fore with emphasis on the two countries' multiple possibilities for their further expansion and diversification on various planes.

It is shown in the address that Romania, taking an active part in the international life, works firmly for the halting of the arms race, for disarmament, nuclear first and foremost, for the cessation of military conflicts and the settlement of all interstate disputed issues only by peaceful, negotiated means, for the eradication of underdevelopment and the establishment of a new international economic order, for the building of a better and more just world on our planet.

The presentation ceremonies and the talks held on these occasions were attended by Ion Stoian, foreign affairs minister, and Dumitru Apostoiu, presidential secretary and secretary of the State Council.

Ceausescu Receives New Angolan Ambassador

AU1112210289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1853 GMT 11 Dec 89

["President Nicolae Ceausescu Receives Ambassador of People's Republic of Angola on Presentation of Credentials"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 11/12/1989—President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania received on Monday, December 11, Evaristo Domingos Kimba, who presented his credentials as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of Angola to Romania.

Handing over the credentials, Ambassador Evaristo Domingos Kimba conveyed to President Nicolae Ceausescu from Jose Eduardo Dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] Labor Party, president of the People's Republic of Angola, warm greetings and wishes of prosperity and welfare for the Romanian people.

The address presented by the ambassador expressed his country's wish to further strengthen and develop ever more powerfully the links of friendship and cooperation between the peoples in the two countries, relations built as early as the beginning of the Angolan people's fight for national liberation.

Receiving the credentials, President Nicolae Ceausescu thanked for the good wishes and feelings expressed and conveyed in turn to President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos a friendly salute and best wishes of personal happiness, of peace, progress and prosperity for the Angolan people.

President Nicolae Ceausescu's address stresses the decisive role of the Romanian-Angolan summit meetings and talks and especially of the conclusions and accords reached during the visit paid to Luanda in March 1987, that demonstrated the large possibilities at hand for the development of the relations between Romania and Angola in every sector of activity, including the commercial exchanges and economic cooperation.

The address also shows that Romania assigns special importance to the amplification of the relations with the states in Africa and actively backs the peoples' struggle in that continent for the complete elimination of colonialism and neocolonialism, for the consolidation of their political and economic independence.

Romania, DPRK Among Last To Oppose Reform

AU0712172489 Vienna Television Service in German 1830 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] A new wind is blowing through the communist world. Only three countries continue to stem the storm of renewal. China has violently crushed the students' uprising. The two other strictly conservative communist countries, Romania and North Korea [Democratic People's Republic of Korea, DPRK], have joined together in

an alliance of reform opponents. Nicolae Ceausescu and Kim Il-song want to resist any attempts by imperialist circles to interfere. This was agreed upon by the two countries in Bucharest.

Press on Current Dynamics of World Politics

AU1312171789 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 2 Dec 89 p 6

[Romulus Caplescu article: "The Peoples' Inalienable Right To Actively Participate in Solving the Problems of the Present-Day World and in Freely Building Their Own Future"]

[Excerpts] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's exceedingly accurate and clear scientific analysis of the current international situation in his report to the 14th Congress of the Romanian Communists Party [RCP] brought to light its particularly serious and complex nature. The development of events brings about profound changes in the political, economic, and social strata; leads to immense transformations in the balance of forces; causes contradictory tendencies; raises pressing questions; and provides answers of great importance to present-day developments and with regard to the new millennium. [passage omitted]

Global problems confronting humanity require global solutions with contributions and participation by all nations on our planet. Understanding this need is an intrinsic component of the new mode to approaching political realities. [passage omitted]

It is an unavoidable reality that there are still tendencies to discuss and attempts to "solve" international problems within a restricted circle of particpants, who then impose as solutions the results of these behind-the-scenes negotiations, held out of peoples' sight and earshot. The erroneous opinion of certain "privileged centers of power," allegedly appointed to decide—without the participation and against the interests of the people—on the world's composition has not disappeared, but instead continues to exist. [passage omitted]

If such actions were prevously not tolerated and were proved greatly harmful to the people, they are even less tolerated, more harmful, and lacking in prospects even more today, when circumstances have radically changed and when, from the ruins of former empires, an impressive number of independent and sovereign states have risen, desiring to have their viewpoints known and respected.

How is it possible to believe that vitally important problems such as disarmament and the elimination of the nuclear threat could be solved by a restricted number of powers possessing nuclear weapons, when problems directly affecting the survival of all of mankind are at stake? How can one imagine that the serious crisis in the international economy, the increase in underdevelopment, and the tremendous Third World foreign debt problem could by effectively solved as a result of decisions made by just a few states, which are not interested in the fate of the majority, but solely in their own well-being and prosperity? [passage omitted]

It goes without saying that the larger countries play an important role and have great responsibility in the international arena. However, experience and world developments more than demonstrate that the immense problems confronting humanity cannot be solved by only a few countries, no matter how large are. The opinion that the fate of the world and the future of humanity can be determined by a few superpowers is wrong and is at variance with the revolutionary concept of the world and with the historic development of human society itself. [passage omitted]

No one ought to claim that he has a monopoly on truth; each nation is responsible for the fate of peace and human civilization and has the right and obligation to act in accordance with this responsibility. Likewise, no one ought to assume the right to discuss questions directly concerning other countries and peoples, or to adopt decisions without consulting those countires and peoples involved, and without bearing in mind their legitimate interests if one does not want to seriously harm the general political atmosphere and international stability. [passage omitted]

Final Croat LC Congress Document Reported

LD1412115489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2158 GMT 13 Dec 89

["The Main Directions of the Croat LCY's Activity in Reforming Society and the LC"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Zagreb, 13 Dec (TANJUG)—The unity of interests in Yugoslavia must be based on the interests of citizens and the working people, of each of its parts, of each of its nations and nationalities, stresses the document [the final document of the Croat League of Communists (LC) Congress]. At the same time, the Croat League of Communists will work toward developing the Socialist Republic [SR] of Croatia as the national state of the Croat people, as the state of the Serbian people living in Croatia, and of other nations and nationalities, and as a modern democratic community of all its citizens.

Main Directors of the Social Reform

The document continues by outlining the main directions of the social reform, which will lead to the development of a postindustrial society, the development of pluralism of ownership forms on the basis of their economic efficacy, and to the further development of self-management.

In the part of the document dealing with citizens' rights, emphasis is placed on developing a law-governed state, self-management, and on the pluralization of society. The Croat LC is against capital punishment and suggests a referendum among its membership on whether or not to abolish it.

Special importance is attached to the freedom of political association as one of the citizens' basic rights. A reform of the political system must provide for an institutional framework in which citizens will be able to fulfil their right to form various alliances, associations, and parties on a political basis. The overall crisis affecting Yugoslav society, as well as current trends in the countries of real socialism, testify to the fact that there can be no socialism without the freedom of political association or without competence between equal political entities and programs. The introduction of a multiparty system is the next step toward pluralizing our political system. In the work on the new Constitution, the Croat LC will advocate solutions conducive to the completion of programs and candidates within a multiparty system. The Croat LC will call for the realization of these principles throughout Yugoslav territory.

Having stressed that federalism is an imperative for the country's modern development, the document goes on to stress that at the present time Yugoslavia can survive and develop only by remaining loyal to the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] principles. In this context, the document stresses the need for equality at the level of the federation and for autonomy of the republics in organizing their internal relations, noting that in the light of this, there can be no outvoting in the case of issues of interest for either the nations or their republics. Fundamental common functions must be arranged by a consensus.

The Croat LC also favor changes in the assembly system which will make the assembly a crucial factor in the efforts to democratize society, to establish a law-governed state and facilitate its functioning, and to carry out social reforms. With reference to the functions of the state, the Croat LC is abandoning the idealistic concept of the withering of the state and will work instead toward enhancing its efficient functioning and democratization. With regard to the competence of the federal state, the Croat LC will favor a reduction in its powers, but will work toward enhancing its capacity to carry out its allocated functions efficiently.

Immediate Tasks

Democratic socialism within the framework of pluralist democracy requires that the LC transform itself into a modern political organization that will have to fight for the support of citizens and the working people. Under such circumstances, the LC cannot retain its hitherto guaranteed right to a leading role. At the same time, the LC will continue to develop as a movement for self-management.

The Croat LC advocates a new League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] program which, by its overall orientation and practical solutions, will rise above current confrontations and compromises among Yugoslav Communists and will focus on the outside world as its criterium. The Croat LC is in favor of abandoning democratic centralism and will advocate a new type of internal discipline in the party. The issue of unity within the LCY will have to be reviewed by proceeding from a new program platform.

The Croat LC gives priority to the concept of a Yugoslav synthesis, and in this context it sees isolationism within territorial boundaries and the imposition of one dominant interest as a universal principle of organization, as being in direct contrast with the notion of a Yugoslav synthesis. The respect for and the recognition of Yugoslav institutions are a prerequiste for discussing and resolving open issues. The Croat LC will work toward overcoming interethnic confrontations and calls for a radical showdown with all that is nationalist and chauvinistic. Creating the widest scope possible for promoting national identity is the sole factor in the efforts to defeat nationalism and chauvinism.

Aware of the crisis situation in Kosovo and in light of the need for stabilization in that province and of the existing measures and their effects, the Croat LC calls for a clearer demarcation of how responsibility is to be shared between organs and political factors in Yugoslavia, in the SR of Serbia, and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo in accordance with a single Yugoslav program on Kosovo.

Having noted the curbing of inflation as a priority task, the document goes on to stress that curbing inflation is

the main task of the country's economic and development policy. To this end, it is vitally important for society to be told that an anti-inflation program cannot be implemented without general agreement on measures and the need for dicipline in their implementation.

With reference to the Croat LC stands on elections, until a new constitution is adopted, the LC delegates in the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Croat Assembly are being asked to champion the kind of changes in the law on citizens' associations which will make the activity of various political associations, alliances, and initiating committees legal, providing they do not advocate violence, or national, cultural, religious, or any other kind of intolerance. They also will work toward the adoption of an electoral law that will guarantee direct elections and secret ballots, as well as competition between various political programs and candidates.

In light of the Central Committee initiative, the Croat LC is ready to go to the polls and compete with other political programs and candidates. To this end, the Croat LC organizations at all levels are required to draw up their own election platforms for winning the citizens' confidence.

Reportage on Continuing Serbian-Slovene Dispute

Meeting Never 'Intended'

AU1312144089 Zagreb VJESNIK (PANORAMA SUBOTOM Supplement) in Serbo-Croatian 2 Dec 89 p 1

[Vlado Rajic commentary: "Two Meetings—One Aim"]

[Text] One of the threatening letters sent by the Committee for the Return of Serbs and Montenegrins to Kosovo to the Slovene leadership contained the following message: If the Slovene people are in solidarity with their republican bureaucracy, then they should both know that the new constitution of this country will be drafted without them, and that their goods will be sold in "our" duty free shops. On the day when the decision was made not to go to Ljubljana, the Belgrade Chamber of Economy demanded that all business and trade ties with Slovenia be broken.

During the building of the atmosphere of tensions concerning the announced meeting, the above-mentioned Committee was consistently being pushed as the legitimate interlocutor of the Slovene leadership so that all refusals could be interpreted as the "other side of Slovene democracy." The following was also part of the strategy: Our demand is democracy, all rejections are dictatorship; Insisting on the meeting is citizens' constitutional right, banning the meeting is the violation of constitutional rights.

Linking Solevic's former assault unit with Slobodan Milosevic's leadership was rejected with the same persistence with which Bogdan Kecman's connection with the present leadership was denied. However, immediately after the announcement of the ban, all three leaderships met to express their disgust with the Slovene decision. Even the subsequently issued statements carried the same formulations, never mind the uniform support to the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia. Following the old recipe, everything was covered with the "spontaneous" embitterment of citizens and working people whose gatherings were, again spontaneously, attended by television crews to record this spontaneous event for the first television news.

After all this, some questions concerning the meeting itself should be asked. The first and key question is: Was there ever a real intention to go to Ljubljana? What crowd did the organizers count on under the conditions of present crisis, low temperatures, and a long and cold journey by train which even under the normal conditions run with "transcontinental speed" to cover distances within Yugoslavia? If there was a serious intention to go on a journey, to go to Ljubljana, how was it possible to cancel everything at the time when the trains already had to leave if they were to reach Tromostovlje in time? If the rules of the Yugoslav Railroad Organization are such that they require that requirements for special trains be made well in time, 7 days in advance, how can one interpret the statement that only one request for a special train was made well after this specified notice, and that, considering train schedule for that particular day, this request was rejected because a free track could not be guaranteed? Who was therefore creating an impression that there were 30 or so special trains going to Ljubljana? Who needed to speak about dozens of buses and private cars when the new price of gas is 60,000 dinars a liter?

There is an answer to this question. Ljubljana was not the aim. All that time the aim was the federal organs, because the columns of enthused people, who expected the ban on the Ljubljana meeting, were ready to go to Belgrade anyway? Did the statements concerning the "Slovene hypocritical ban on gatherings" not set the deadline of 15 days to the federal leadership to undertake appropriate "federal anti-Slovene steps" for which the republican socialist alliance and all other spontaneously convened forums and bodies in Serbia had already created a political atmosphere in which the agreement with the condemnation of Slovenia was the only acceptable thing. Everything else was supposed to cause the "justifiable" disgust of the "people" on whom the federal leadership was turning its back.

With this, the transparency of Milosevic's policy is receiving the final outlines of a concrete political program whose evolution many people warned against at great risk. It appears that the time has come to conclude this concept, which means that Yugoslavia will be facing hard times until the new year. Can the meeting in front of the SFRY Assembly—at which, during Dizdarevic's time, the crowd shouted "Slovenia is lying"—happen again? This time such a meeting would mean putting into effect the demand for breaking all ties with Slovenia which is already being openly called a regime whose

goods are doomed to be sold under special conditions, and whose leaderships have virtually been eliminated from participating in federal political life. It would be somewhat farfetched to say that the preparation for this started with the Muzevic case, the attack on Stanovnik's speech in the United States, and the withdrawal of Ambassador Zivorad Kovacevic because he did not react to the statements made by Stanovnik in his talks with his U.S. hosts. However, this was more obvious when Kucan's speech at a session of the Central Committee of the LC of Yugoslavia was derisively responded to with a statement that it was "an honor that Kucan was politically on the other side," alluding to the famous "unprincipled coalition" which this very same Central Committee never had the strength to evaluate, and which was the reason for its author, Vasil Tupurkovski, to be promoted into the state presidency. The attack on Ante Markovic came from the federal Central Committee. First, Stanko Radmilovic and then Borisav Jovic clearly stated that they do not agree with the premier's concepts. Radmilovic will soon occupy the chair of the republican premier and Jovic is already in the state presidency, in the very organ whose Yugoslav constitutional authority has already been undermined with a meek appeal against the meeting, as was on many other occasions involving vote casting when political mathematics was reduced to four votes for and four against. It is in fact this voting stalemate position that has led to the involvement of the Yugoslav People's Army in politics, because the Yugoslav People's Army was allegedly supposed to be the crucial weight on the scales. It is fortunate that the people in the Yugoslav People's Army saw this and that, despite some clumsiness in formulating the political stands of the army, they after all stated that they will not take sides in the clash between the two sides.

The disrupted presidency is now given a 15 day deadline by an informal organ, a deadline which contains an ultimatum implying that crowds of people will gather in front of the federal assembly if need be. This is why one should once again stress that it must be the SFRY Assembly which should put the current situation in Yugoslavia on agenda and that it should be the assembly which should protect the institutions of the system (and not the people in them), because when all this is over the assembly bodies may be occupied by some wiser people whose wisdom and readiness to help Yugoslavia will be in vain if the rights of all and everyone to bring them down do not cease to exist.

What will happen next? New tensions are inevitable following the bursting of the balloon of the Ljubljana meeting. People have literally fallen for the Ljubljana "moment of truth." It is indeed surprising that politicians here do not read the newspapers or books, because many things that had been undertaken, many things that had been commented on (by various people and on various occasions) have already been reported. For instance, Solevic's concept of a march on Ljubljana also assumes a threat-meeting without an actual arrival in Ljubljana. Have we not already had battles over the sale of Slovene goods in other parts of Yugoslavia? Have Slovene banks not already been attacked as centers for exploiting the less developed? Has Janez Drnovsek not already been regarded as a Slovene in the state presidency rather than the president of the Yugoslav Presidency whose years of education, multilingualism, and political "honesty" ought to create a good impression beyond Slovenia? Why have these facts not been used to deduce the real demand of the announced meeting, and why has it not been revealed to the public with all possible means? Instead, during these hard times when the state holiday was spoiled by the darkness of deep divisions, the announcement of a state of emergency, and the total rejections of economic reforms, the legal leaderships are making a number of mistakes which are pushing them into a passive position in relation to one single man and his political options. The assertions that all this could have been avoided with political means a long time ago is still valid today under the conditions in which the above-mentioned ultimatum to the state presidency should be interpret as a demand to dissolve the collective head of state, and cause an assembly and government crisis. Therefore, Drnovsek is the first to go.

Slovene Assembly View

LD1412111789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1713 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 11 Dec (TANJUG)—Expressing the concern of the inhabitants of Pomurje, delegate Andrej Gerencer stressed that they are surprised by the policy being conducted by the Serbia Socialist Republic [SR] with regard to Slovenia which, from a position of the larger entity, wishes to change everything around it and implement only its own truth. [passage omitted]

According to Marko Bulc, chairman of the Slovene Chamber of Economy, so far 80 cases have been recorded of the break-off of relations with our organizations. In the main, what has been stopped is the purchase of final products, and most breaks in relations are between commercial organizations. Obviously, this is a matter of aggression against Yugoslavia, and it is clear that this economic blockade is the first such case in Europe after Stalin's blockade in 1948. It should be known that all blockades hitherto have failed, Bulc stressed.

Bulc said that he therefore is requesting that the republican assembly demand of the SFRY Presidency, the Federal Executive Committee [FEC], and the administrative organs of the federation, that they pay attention to legality. Unless the FEC and other federal organs insure the unified operation of the Yugoslav market within 10 days, we will be obliged in the Slovene economy to adopt measures for the protection of our interests in accordance with the principle of self-help and reciprocity. It is clear, then, that in the Serbian SR those enterprises also will be affected which wish to cooperate with us and need us. However, Bulc stressed, in Serbia they respect us only to the extent that they feel us.

Marko Bezjak, from the municipality of Radovljica, stressed that they had assured themselves on the occasion of their visit to sister municipalities that in Serbia not everyone thinks the same as its leadership. I suggest that analysts take a look at the memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, and they will see that this is a document which Serbian policy is consistently implementing. I believe that most people think we must respond to the boycott of Slovene goods by boycotting the fulfilment of our obligations toward the federation, without money and the machinery of protest meetings, it will not be able to be continued.

Vika Potocnik stressed that the Serbian trade war and the attempt to impose an economic blockade represent for slovenia a cost and losses, and here it is immaterial that the cost to Serbia will be greater. Vika Potocnik proposed that the Republican Executive Council adopt, in accordance with urgent procedure, both short-term and long-term measures for the protection of Slovene economic sovereignty. Short-term measures are, above all, assistance to enterprises, while the long-term measures are within existing Yugoslav norms. The Republican Executive Council ought seriously to look into the formation of a Slovene national currency, and this could be linked in a productive way with the fund for assistance to affected enterprises. As early as next year, Western statistical standards, and above all a Western social account, should be applied in Slovenia because Slovenia now is voluntarily surrendering to theft from another part of Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

Croat, Slovene Discussion

AU1212140389 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 11 Dec 89 p 1

[TANJUG report: "Necessary Dialogue"]

[Text] Zagreb [No date as published]—One can find a way out of this situation which dangerously threatens the stability and survival of Yugoslavia based on AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] only through dialogue and in a democratic way. As a basis for achieving this, everybody should behave in conformity with relations in the Federation as established by the Constitution, the economic reform should be implemented unconditionally, everything that threatens the economic unity of the country should be prevented, and the authority of federal organs should be affirmed. This was a joint assessment of the top state and political organs of the Socialist Republic of Croatia and the Socialist Republic of Slovenia who met in Zagreb on Sunday thus continuing the practice of holding regular meetings of leaderships of republics and provinces.

The Conflict of Concepts

It is said in the announcement issued after the meeting that what is involved in this crucial moment of the crisis in overall relations in the country is the conflict of two essentially different concepts of setup and development of Yugoslavia. In such a situation, talks between the leaderships of the Socialist Republic of Croatia and the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, as well as contacts and cooperation of all republics and provinces are an irreplaceable way and method of solving all problems and overcoming differences. In this respect, this meeting at the same time represents acceptance and affirmation of the SFRY Presidency's initiative to the effect that one should stop the further destabilization of the SFRY through direct talks of all constituent subjects of the Federation. In conformity with that, the two leaderships have recently convened talks with leaderships of other republics and provinces. Great concern was expressed because of the impossibility to hold this kind of a meeting between the leaderships of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

Unacceptable Conditioning

It was pointed out that solutions of a decisive importance for the country cannot be sought and adopted through pressures and by conditioning a dialogue, because the SFRY is not only a territorial union of closely related peoples, but was created as a socialist, federal, and democratic community of equal peoples and nationalities in which cultural-historical and other mutual differences are recognized. This is why all its sovereign subjects can find no solutions to their national questions and general prosperity outside Yugoslavia as it is established by AVNOJ. Other concepts mean retailoring Yugoslavia and breaking it apart.

The move of the Socialist Republic of Serbia made when it resorted to breaking all economic ties with the Socialist Republic of Slovenia is unacceptable and directly threatens the entire country with the escalation of an economic civil war. It was stated in the talks, on the basis of specific examples, that the already broken ties in the economy are threatening the economic and market lifeblood of the country. This is why both leaderships are united in the view that introducing reciprocal measures is no solution. Therefore, they advocated a well-argued and democratic dialogue as a prerequisite for calming the situation down and committing oneself fully to political and economic reform. This is the only way to formulate the joint life in the Yugoslav Federation.

The following people took part in the talks: the presidents of the two republican presidencies, Ivo Latin and Janez Stanovnik; presidents of the republican assemblies, Andjelko Runjic and Miran Potrc; presidents of the Central Committee Presidiums of the republican League of Communists, Stanko Stojcevic and Milan Kucan, as well as presidents of the republican conferences of the Socialist Alliance of Working People, Marjan Kalanj and Joze Smole.

SAWP Delegate Attacks Serbia

AU1312131289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] Members of the federal conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People are analyzing the current socioeconomic and political situation in the country. Here is a report from the Sava Center by Kosta Krajincanic:

The introductory speech on this topic was made by Jelena Milojevic, president of the federal conference. She stressed that the current negative trends require all possible efforts to ensure continuity in implementing the basic principles on which the SFRY was founded. According to Jelena Milojevic, the key question is whether we can be united in realizing these principles. If we do not succeed in this, this will mark our historic defeat, she concluded.

Her speech, which was imbued with the spirit of building peace and with wishes build bridges of understanding and cooperation among the people, intended supposed to initiate a discussion in the same constructive tone. The discussion was conducted like that for most of the time.

However, a Slovene delegate, Marko Kersovani, stood out because of his very impudent and quarrelsome manner. He presented a number of already familiar Slovene views on Kosovo, such the idea that the problem does not lie in Kosovo, but in the allegedly wrong policy of the Serbian leadership, that Kosovo needs a greater degree of autonomy considering that ethnic Albanians are in the majority, that the emergency measures in Kosovo were directed against the citizens' rights, in this case the citizens' rights of ethnic Albanians, and so forth.

Miomir Dasic, Zivojin Cvejic, Balso Spadijer, and Vanco Nikolovski reacted very sharply.

The discussion is still going on. Ibrahinm Bakis is speaking at present. Some 20 more delegates are also expected to speak.

Economic Breaks Continue

AU1312215889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] Working organizations of Serbia have so far informed 98 enterprises in Slovenia of their break in business links. Deliveries of production materials (?have been stopped) and orders have been canceled in virtually all the branches of the economy. Commerce has particularly been affected, and long-term consequences are expected in the furniture, textile, and leather industries.

According to data released by the Chamber of Economy of Slovenia, it is clear that a proper blockade would mean a reduction of income for many collectives. Although it is still believed that the break of relations is formal and temporary, a solution is being sought in other republics or in foreign markets.

Slovene Groups Reject Proposals

LD1412204389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1454 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 14 Dec (TANJUG)—The so-called Council for the Constitution, an organization comprising 12 alternative movements, societies, and new alliances from Slovenia, today sent their appeal to the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, stressing, among other things, "that if the Assembly gives its consent to the FEC"s [Federal Executive Council] unacceptable proposals it will demand that the Slovene Assembly be put to a vote of confidence through a referendum."

The appeal says: "The FEC intends to propose and demand next Monday certain changes to the SFRY Constitution through an urgent and essential secret procedure! Some information, although restricted, reveals that this is again a demand for centralizing the competences in the sphere of economy, state security, human rights—that is, in the realms which are of fundamental significance in view of the sovereignty of a nation and the statehood of a republic. At the same time this is a matter of an unacceptable secrecy of procedures and documents as well as of a failure to observe the constitutionally stipulated procedure for changing the SFRY Constitution."

The appeal to the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia further says that "all this ominously resembles the events of 1931 when the so-called 'octroyed constitution' was imposed on the Yugoslav citizens and nations also at a time of a great economic crisis."

As for the presaged secrecy of this procedure the Council for Constitution also warns that it is intolerable to have "a secret official gazette of the SFRY" and it is even more so for the top state organs of the SFRY to adopt and deploy unpublished, and as it is said, highly confidential secret regulations. Therefore, the appeal goes on, the council demands the abolition of "the secret SFRY official gazette" and the invalidation of all the legislation printed in it. Particularly demanded is "the abolition of all unpublished and legally nonexisting provisions and the termination of their usage on the whole of the SFRY territory. Until these demands are met it is impossible to accept any changes to the existing Constitution," it is said in the appeal to the Assembly. [passage omitted]

Joint Talks Expected 'Shortly'

AU1412214589 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Judging by what Jelena Milojevic, president of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia, told a press conference for foreign and domestic journalists at the International Press Center in Belgrade this evening, the leaderships of Serbia and Slovenia will shortly discuss their disputed questions. Momcilo Boskovic reports on this and some other replies at this press conference:

The majority of the questions addressed to the president of the Federal Conference referred to the present grave economic situation in Yugoslavia and the break in relations between Serbia and Slovenia.

[Begin Milojevic recording] The way events are developing in our country has shown that our economic crisis is becoming deeper and deeper, that the economic policy measures have not produced the expected results, and that the inflation, as you know, is reaching a record figure: with the present rate of inflation, Yugoslavia has reached something like 12th place as regards inflation recorded in general since civilization has existed in the world. [end recording]

In the meantime, an extraordinary session of the Presidium of the Federal Conference and a session of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia were held, Jelena Milojevic said.

[Begin Milojevic recording] It is difficult to say now whether there have been any results. Considering that ultimatums have been presented both in Slovenia and Serbia, we have succeeded in, how shall I put it, unanimously adopting the decision that a dialogue between the representatives of Slovenia and Serbia should be urgently ensured. We have requested the organs of the federation to take measures within their power so that, on the one side, the rule of law may prevail so that it may be seen to what extent the Constitution and the law have been flouted in all these measures, and I think that in the coming week we will have a concrete dialogue without any of these ultimatums from, how shall I put it, the most responsible representatives of either republic, because we have decided—which I consider very essential—that the subject of these talks should be what has been set as a condition for a reestablishment of relations. [end recording]

The correspondent of the West German press agency asked Jelena Milojevic how these talks between Serbia and Slovenia are envisaged.

[Begin Milojevic recording] (?We strive to help) with the mediation of the Socialist Alliance of Working People regarding the contacts between the republican conference. The SFRY Presidency will ensure contacts with the presidents of the presidencies of the republics. And in the party I suppose that contacts will be established between the top people of the parties of either republic. We have concluded that all the disputed questions that have led to such a state of relations, how shall I put it, between the two republics should be a subject of talks. [end recording]

Federal Intervention Requested

LD1512024189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0032 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Ljubljana, Dec 14 (TANJUG)—The government of the Yugoslav republic of Slovenia asked the federal government today to intervene urgently over the recent decision by the republic of Serbia, one of the six republics which make up the Yugoslav federation, to cut off all ties with Slovenia, including all economic links.

Serbia's decision, i.e. the call by the leadership of the republican Socialist Alliance organization for all firms and institutions to break off their ties with Slovenia, came after the decision of the Slovenian authorities to ban a rally in Ljubljana, the capital, by practically closing the republican border.

The rally was organized for Serbs and Montenegrins from the province of Kosovo to inform the Slovenian public, whose leadership had in their view for years ignored their plight, about the terror they are being subjected to by ethnic Albanian chauvinists and separatists in Kosovo.

Apart from requesting an action by the federal government over the call for a boycott in Serbia—which has, according to the first reactions, provoked a large-scale response in the republic - Slovenia is also asking for an intervention by the federal public prosecutor.

In a letter addressed to the federal government, Slovenia says that the blockade of the republic will not "force it to its knees," recalling that the republic's share in the financing of the federation amounts to one-fifth.

The Slovenian government has assessed the call by the Socialist Alliance of Serbia for breaking off relations with all Slovenian firms and other institutions as being unconstitutional.

Protest Strikes, Threats of Strikes Continue

Macedonian Unions Issue Warning

AU1312205189 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] The Presidium of the Trade Union Council of Macedonia at its session has pointed out that 550,000 people employed in that republic will go on a general strike unless measures are taken to reduce the prices of electricity, crude oil and oil products, and of other products to the level prevailing before 29 November. The strike will be held because of the unbearably high prices that have pushed the workers into poverty and misery.

1-Hour Work Stoppage

AU1312204589 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Some 50,000 employees of the Crvena Zastava plant in Kragujevac staged a 1-hour warning strike today to appeal to the federal organs and to protest at the unenviable situation in Yugoslavia. The workers of the first shift of the collective were joined by those employed in other collectives this morning. Zoran Glisovic reports:

With its collective 1-hour work stoppage today, the first shift of the Crvena Zastava plant expressed its dissatisfaction and sent a protest warning to the highest state and party organs of the country because of the more and more harshly unfavorable situation in Yugoslavia. Such peaceful strikes, which were also organized by the Trade Unions in the Filip Kljajic plant and the Crvena Zvezda Meat Plant, are unprecedented in the long tradition of one of the largest workers centers of Serbia and Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

The workers of Zastava, Filip Kljajic, Crvena Zvezda, and other collectives in Kragujevac explicitly demand that full priority should be given at once to specific economic reform and development activities, in brief, that one should pass from words to deeds. In addition, they demand that the taxation on economy's income and personal incomes be reduced, and that new measures favorable to the workers be adopted.

We demand, the proclamation says, that the SFRY Presidency and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidium, with their authority, should most urgently and without delay prevent any further outpourings of mutual hatred between certain parts of the country, and take all the measures necessary to preserve unity and the constitutional federal order.

This strike to warn the highest Yugoslav and republican authorities, with its proclamation sent to the authorities at all levels also demanding approval for an increase in the November pay, was supported by the Kragujevac Trade Union Communal Council at its extraordinary session today.

LC Expulsions Result of Strike

LD1412110889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2040 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Summary] Pec, 12 Dec (TANJUG)—Tonight the Pec League of Communists [LC] Municipal Committee Presidium expelled the following members from the LC because of violations of self-managing rights of workers, organizing work stoppages, and sending support telegrams to miners in Stari Trg: Burham Beciri, a leader in a bicycle factory; Hilmi Gasi, director of basic organization of associated labor in the 17 November trade organization; Skender Kada, trade union president in Tekstil-metal factory; and Djeljalj Radonici, head of a department in a department store. Final warnings were proposed for Redzep Mekuli and Ibra Hasmanovic.

Kosovo Albanians Protest Street Name Change

AU1412195589 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Displeased with the decision of the Peje [In Serbo-Croatian "Pec"] Communal Assembly to change the names of a number of streets named after distinguished personalities of the historic past of the Albanians, some 3,000 citizens of Albanian nationality gathered in front of the Ramiz Sadiku House of Culture to express their displeasure and to demand explanations for the changes in the names of the streets concerned.

Following talks between the president of the Communal Assembly and a number of citizens in the hall of the cultural center, an agreement was reached to permit the holding of a similar meeting next Tuesday. However, a large group of those who were waiting outside moved on to a nearby gymnasium, where some 2,000 people gathered. The president of the Communal Assembly is meeting with this crowd at this moment, to also persuade them to postpone the gathering.

Pristina Television Views Vlasi's Defense

AU1312142989 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 7 Dec 89 p 2

[Pristina Television commentary: "A Defense Using Speculation"]

[Text] The trial at Titova Mitrovica District Court this week moved on to the stage of the defense of the accused Azem Vlasi. Efforts to ensure that the trial flows within the normal judicial channels were almost of no avail when faced with Vlasi's defense, which attempted to take all the accusations against him out of a penal and legal context, and dwelt much more on the political events and circumstances of the time of his arrest and shortly before, summoning a large number of people to make statements, in order to make his trial a matter of a distinctive kind of political subjectivism. It is well-known that every accused person has an inalienable right to a defense, but this defense must consist of answers to the evidence, and must not be a political apologia based on informal conversations and rumors.

A further tendency is noticeable in the defense for the accused to depict himself as a national victim. According to his construction of events, he has been put in the position of a defender of the national rights of the Albanian nationality, even their sole defender, and that he must necessarily be taken as such. It follows that all those who remain outside prison are supposedly not proper Albanians, or, worse, collaborators in his imprisonment and therefore traitors to the national cause. Once again Vlasi's leadership pretensions, one of the reasons for his political fall, come to the surface.

Donning again the national cloak, the defendant goes so far as to claim he is on trial merely because he is an Albanian. He himself thereby uses some of the verbal weapons of the Albanian nationalists and separatists. Vlasi seems to forget that we have had trials and sentences since 1981, often of young people who were indoctrinated out of no fault of their own. If what he claims is the truth, why did he not see any reason to raise his voice earlier, when he had every opportunity to do so?

In his subjectivism, he finds it very easy to invoke the name of Tito, while basing his defense on restrictions of Albanian and Macedonian rights in full knowledge that

the judiciary also has been subject to attempts at coalitions and political horse-dealing.

As witnesses of this trial being conducted in front of a wide public, we find it reasonable to assert once again that it would be preferable if everything took place within the framework of the judicial rules of a law-governed state. It is well known what political speculation, subjectivism, and leadership pretensions have meant for the Kosovo political arena in the past, and especially for the Albanian nationality.

Bosnia-Hercegovina 10th LC Congress Held

Pre-Congress Punishments

LD0512130189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0955 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Sarajevo, 5 Dec (TANJUG)—In the Bosnia-Hercegovina (BiH) league of communists [LC], in the period between two congresses, a total of 9,116 measures of ideo-political responsibility have been pronounced, including 3,319 expulsions from membership of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], says a report on the work of the BiH LC statutory commission between the 9th and 10th congress. There were also 2,012 final warnings and 3,785 warnings. 14,354 party members were struck off the party list, while 7,591 members left of their own accord.

Of all the measures pronounced in the BiH LC in this period, the basic organizations pronounced 8,788 punishments. It is interesting that as many as 88.4 percent of the LC members on whom measures were pronounced in the basic organizations did not appeal against them.

Congress Opens

LD0712101289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0924 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Sarajevo, 7 Dec (TANJUG)—The 10th congress of Bosnia- Hercegovina League of Communists [LC] opened today in the Great Hall of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly with the playing of "The Internationale." A total of 574 delegates will take part in the 3-day congress of Bosnia-Hercegovina Communists.

At the first plenary session, the delegates will hear a report by Nijaz Durakovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Presidium, entitled "The LC and the Challenges of New Times."

Durakovic Opens Congress

LD0812095789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0604 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Sarajevo, 7 Dec (TANJUG)—Our approach and program resolutions must enable us to do our utmost to contribute to the successful work of the 14th Extraordinary League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Congress. There is, however, room here for cautious optimism because unless enormous differences between parts of the LCY are overcome, it is uncertain what will happen at the 14th Extraordinary Congress and what the fate of the LCY will be. The question is, how much readiness is there in sections of the League of Communists [LC] at the moment for searching for and arriving at points of convergence and action unity and, on the other hand, how strong is the grip of an obsession with discord and confrontation.

This was stressed by Dr Nijaz Durakovic, president of the Bosnia- Hercegovina LC Presidium, in an introductory report at the 10th Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Congress which opened in Sarajevo this morning.

Under certain provisions, the crisis may provide us with an opportunity for radical changes. This opportunity will present itself, however, providing we preserve the unity among the ranks, boldly and resolutely march toward building something new, encourage even more the process of democratization, show more determination toward new theoretical breakthroughs, and providing we get rid, once and for all, of dogmatic yokes, ossified schemes, and outmoded recipes. To put it simply, we must focus our attention on man, on his real interests and problems.

An enormous and long-term task is therefore ahead of us. There is a great deal of uncertainty and real theoretical and political dilemmas. We shall need a large amount of know-how, energy, ideological finesse, and lectures in democracy if we are to respond appropriately to the present and future challenges. Our congress can make a significant but not more than an initial step in this direction.

There have been LC congresses which were held in exceptionally dramatic situations and at which historic decisions had to be made on which depended both the fate of the country within the international arena and the nature of our future socialist development. However, none of the past congresses was held under more unfavorable socioeconomic and political circumstances as the present nor was any of them approached with so many dilemmas, various ideological and political options, and mounting problems so drasticaly exposed by the prolonged crisis. Nijas Durakovic stressed and continued:

We do not accept that the idea of socialism has been historically compromised. If one model of socialism, in our circumstances, has become exhausted it does not follow that socialism as an idea, as a vision and movement has been a mere historical delusion from which communists suffered.

In view of the fact that socialism in our country has produced significant results and that it still has an historical perspective in Yugoslavia, let us ensure that our congress is characterized by our contribution to the efforts to build a more clear path toward the future of socialism in Yugoslavia. To work for the future does not mean to "correct" our socialist present by "improvising", or to "plan our future in a utopian way and on the

basis of our mere desires and good intentions. For, we have learned now that one of the crucial factors which generated our overall social crisis is precisely the utopian and unrealistic element in our former plans of social construction which we thought would ensure that in one leap alone we could extricate ourselves from the old society, as if we wanted to catch our historical reality unawares through the force of our subjective will and political means to rise high toward the "clean world of socialism."

As an assembly turned toward the future, our congress must be used by Bosnia-Hercegovina communists as a venue for reaching an agreement on what should be done and in what way, Durkanovic said. Therefore, we expect it to be a congress of proposals, initiatives, solutions, in other words, it must provide an opportunity for all those who have something to say, who know how to propose and offer solutions which will eventually converge into a unique project for reconstructing our socialist society and the League of Communists. I believe and hope that in its work the congress will move in that direction. Speaking frankly, the situation in either the Socialist Republic [SR] of Bosnia-Hercegovina or in the country as a whole has never been as difficult as today.

History has taught us that unless there is a crisis in the strategy adopted by the country, the way out of the crisis is through a clear concept and vision of how to overcome social contradictions. There is no crisis which can cause anxiety to the point of hopelessness providing we display ability to mark directions and decide on the means for overcoming stagnation.

This congress is perhaps our last opportunity to test the potentials of our organization. This, of course, presents us with an exceptional historical responsibility. Instead of continuing to mark time—which basically was the reason behind the crisis and a factor which generated conflicts and disunity—we have reached the point where we must turn our projects toward the future and the reconstruction of socialism. Time will show whether we have the power, willingness, and capacity to do this. For the time being we have some of the prerequisites. First of all, we have rid ourselves of the fear of changes. This, perhaps, is one of the main features of the state of consciousness among Bosnia-Hercegovina communists in the period between the two contresses.

We have left behind a period in which the forces of bureaucracy and politization succeeded in keeping social consciousness in some kind of isolation, confinement, or in a stalemate position while all the time instilling into it, in a dogmatic way, fear of changes, of any kind of critical questioning of the existing, and of any attempt to reverse negative trends in social development and direct them toward the way out of the crisis, Durakovic said.

Despite all the serious consequences of the Agrokomerc scandal and some other cases of excessive behavior which assumed exaggerated proportions in the public, the thesis that the entire intercongress period in Bosnia-Hercegovina was characterised by various affairs is incorrect, Nijaz durakovic said. For, many of the social phenomena and political denouements branded as affairs have their beginnings even before the Ninth Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Congress and some even before then. The reasons are partly due to the heightened social critical awareness in society and to the awakened public as well as to changes in the balance of power among the leadership. After the Ninth Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Congress it was not possible nor was there political preparedness to hide or hush up such phenomena.

The Bosnia Hercegovina LC Central Committee was, in fact, a part of this new balance of power on the political scene at crucial moments. Especially at the time when some of the affairs reached the point of denouement it became the main force behind the democratic way of clarifying them. The denouements were only possible along a democratic course and, in fact, they served to clear the ground for the introduction of new democratic practice in the LC itself, in its Central Committee and in the institutions of society.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina LC's constant struggle to open up scope for democracy through the democratic functioning of the system, to fight lawlessness by legal means, by promoting autonomy of the system's institutions, of the judiciary, of the public prosecutor, and of the courts, and to enhance the role of the public, etc, is part of the overall democratic development in the country which has been going on despite existing contradictions and resistance. Resolute measures must be taken to counter attempts to devalue the foundations of this policy and to reduce it to conflicts between those in power.

At this congress we must raise several questions: where and how to proceed further, on which theoretical premises and which ideopolitical orientation to follow. But the principal questions is: What kind of socialism do we advocate and who are the main class, social, and political protagonists of the struggle? This one is the key question and it is and will be the focus of attention of all the LC congresses and conferences to be held before the 14th Extraordinary, LCY Congress. A great deal of certainty and contradiction still remains, however.

At the moment we more or less know what we do not want, what hampers us and what creates obstructions along our reformist course. We are still uncertain and unclear about what we want and how to achieve it in an efficient way. This congress can hardly be expected to provide decisive and final answers to these major, and dare I say, historic issues facing self-management and socialism in our country and in the LCY itself. Our proposed resolutions are a step in that direction and an attempt to provide these answers.

However, if they are to make sense, all our answers as well as our success in realizing them presuppose one and only thing, i.e. that Yugoslav communists, together with all patriotic forces, succeed in protecting Yugoslavia

from the forces of division and destruction and preserving it as a socialist, free, independent state in which peace prevails. This is the first, crucial prerequisite for any plan for emerging from the crisis.

Those who think that the way out of the crisis is possible providing one side avoid an economic collapse at the expense of the other side and its failure are mistaken. This is not the kind of policy we favor. The survival of Yugoslav as a federal, socialist state of free citizens and equal nations and nationalities on the basis of a democratic alternative is a prerequisite for our emergence from the crisis. This is our policy.

The second prerequisite for overcoming the crisis is closely linked with the question of who the LC can rely on today in its struggle for Yugoslav's integrity and independence and its efforts to reconstruct socialism Durakovic asked and went on to add: not, of course, on those who in the present crisis and at this time of galloping inflation are having it good, getting richer, speculating, and promoting ideas of full and arbitrary recapitalization of Yugoslavia. On the other hand, neither can we rely on those who, thanks to their power and political monopoly, have become a rich class despite their lack of know-how and effort.

Our chance lies in the interests and needs of those who have been painfully and profoundly scarred by the crisis, i.e. of all the working people who live from their labor and creativeness, of those who have been deprived of the opportunity for both human and professional affirmation, of those whose chances of demonstrating and promoting their intelligence and know-how for their own and for the benefit of our entire community have been reduced, of all those who, instead of looking for opportunites in feudal-tribal primitivism and national romaticism and the like, see their chance as lying in a modernized, free socialist community. In a work, they are all those people who link their fate with the fate of socialism. And they are a majority and they will not easily approve of attempts to to disintegrate the SFRY.

Durakovic stressed that the LC has to be flexible in a crisis and should not ignore the fact it has lost a great deal of its reputation; that it had become worn out as a party in power and a party of privileges; that the number of those joining it for ideological reasons is growing smaller; that within it there is evidence of widespread opposition, various ideological options and ambitions; that it has become ideologically and theoretically diluted and that it is going through one of the most profound crisis in its history.

Regardless of all this, the LC must not be duped by attractive provocations and those idological auctioneers who would rather see it turning back into its past and force it to reexamine its entire history and policy and reassess some of the personalities who played a dominant role in the creation of a given policy. These forces are also striving to prove the absurdity and utopian nature of the entire communist effort to the point where they denounce revolution as an unnecessary effort for which we paid dearly.

In view of all this the LC has the chance of remaining at the head of reformist forces providing it is prepared to cooperate with them, to be a key factor in the process of democratization, to search for scope to continue to be a factor of modernization and visionary efforts, to reaffirm its capacity to implement ideology and theory, and to anticipate action to resolve social problems and to motivate the working people and citizens to work toward fulfilling prospects for socialist development. The only way of consolidating its role is by concentrating its attention on real, human problems without any quasi-ideological prejudices and dogmatic pressures, to be ahead of others in its proposals, views, and initiatives.

Precisely at this juncture when the very foundations of Yugoslavia have been seriously shaken, when interrepublican and interethnic quarrels are coming to a head, when ostracism is reaching the level of a some kind of a collective paranoia and the like, the only way out is to turn to the future, to work and creativity, to see how to link scientific-technological and information industry with modern economic activity.

If we do not turn our forces primarily in that direction, Durakovic says, it is difficult to expect results from any of our congresses, resolutions, appeals, and various lists of nice wishes. The crisis we are living through is not an excuse to postpone this task, rather, it is the only way out of the crisis.

Therefore, we call attention to the concept and content orientations from the resolution dealing with ideopolitical bases of the development orientation of Bosnia-Hercegovina in conditions of implementing the economic reform. The economy should be fully liberated from the restraints of politics; it should be made responsible for its own development within the conditions of market economic activity, economic laws, and competition, using efficient activity of the state and an efficient system of macroeconomic management of the economy and society. This is one of the basic reform demands, a necessary prerequisite for increasing efficiency in the economic sphere and a prerequisite for all other changes in society.

In all this, there should be no dilemma about one thing. The orientation toward the market, toward pluralism of forms of ownership and a mixed economy is not a capitulation of the system, not a restoration of capitalism and old relations. This is a necessary and legal process, a necessary development stage and a way toward greater efficiency of social ownership.

In the end, Durakovic assesses, social ownership as the dominant form of property will not affirm itself through any kind of proclamations, constitutional, legal or political orientations, but only through greater efficiency in competition with other forms of ownership and within

the same conditions. And it is precisely on this that the fate of socialism in this area and in the world will depend.

One of the most important aims of restructuring the economy of Bosnia-Hercegovina is contained in the need to develop more active relations in dealing with employment problems. The development orientation used so far did not objectively widen employment opportunities, so that nowadays in Bosnia-Hercegovina there are about 280,000 unemployed, mostly young, educated people.

Speaking at length about tasks in connection with environmenial protection, Nijaz Durakovic stressed that today nobody sensible will build prospects on the idea of being a reservation for raw materials and energy or an area where the so-called dirty technologies are concentrated.

Durakovic said that in the period between congresses an awareness has matured about the need for changes in the political system. These changes are a prerequisite for a way out of the crisis. As we are moving toward the pluralism of forms of ownership, in the political sphere we must go for a combination of the best from bourgeois and socialist democracies.

Durakovic stressed that the LC will not, nor can it be an arbiter measuring political freedoms, giving or denying permission to people to organize themselves politically. Whether, to what extent, and in which form a multiparty democracy comest to life will depend, primarily, on the will, interest, and needs of working people and citizens and all other participants of political life and in general on the development of democratic relations.

Regardless of the direction and type of political democracy that will develop, we will support a struggle against any kind of party monopoly, whether it is of a mono- or multi-party character.

As far as our attitude toward the Yugoslav federation is concerned, we do not accept the stand according to which Yugoslavia is only a temporary or an accidental creation, Durakovic said. For us Yugoslavia is not a pact, a result of an agreement between elites or national leaderships. Yugoslavia has its historical foundation and its fate and relations in it cannot depend on political whims of these or other individuals, or this or that political elite and particular national programs. Though we have stressed this many times, once again we should emphasize our stand that we do not accept the theory of the so-called asymmetrical federation either.

Yugoslavia as a community of equitable nations and nationalities can exist historically and ensure a future for itself only on the basis of authentic class, production, and sociopolitical relations and values whose foundation is embedded in its revolution.

We also do not accept from those positions the confederal concept of reconstituting Yugoslavia which aggressively calls for the redrawing of republican borders and the creation of greater national states which would belong to this envisaged confederation. It is clear that there is no room for that concept in Bosnia-Hercegovina which follows the recpies of old hegemonistic and ethnocentric ambitions.

We also do not see Yugoslavia as a mechanical collection of separate socialisms of national-republican hues, which is an anachronism from the point of view of trends in socialism in the world as well. We particularly stress that we resolutely reject the policy of so-called axis unions which should apparently solve the questions of the future of Yugoslavia.

We reject any concept which would divide and set nations and nationalities against each other according to the thesis of who is more, and who less for Yugoslavia, who deserves more and who less credit for its creation and the victory of the socialist revolution, and so on. All our nations and nationalities fought for the new Yugoslavia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina lost most blood in that struggle and gave 700,000 human lives. And that is why no one has the right today to unilaterally tender for the kind of Yugoslavia he wants, to establish and impose the conditions under which we will live, and to determine who is more and who less for Yugoslavia, who should and who should not live in it.

We should not yield to the atmosphere of division and conflict. We can see what the conflicts between the leaderships of Serbia and Slovenia have led to. This is not the way to make possible the realization of the reform directions and a way out of the crisis. No leaderships have constitutional legitimacy if they take measures with the political consequences of limiting the functioning of Yugoslavia as a united country and promoting disintegration.

Neither the leadership in the SR of Serbia nor that in the SR of Slovenia has the right to risk in such a drastic manner not only the integrity and independence, but also the very survival of Yugoslavia. The question of Yugoslavia is a matter for all its republics and provinces and all its nations and nationalities. The international position and reputation of Yugoslavia cannot come under the patronage of only some, it is also the concern of all its sovereign factors. No matter how serious the present disagreements and conflicts in the country are, and particularly those in relations between Serbia and Slovenia—without going into who is to blame for the situation and who is not, or the reasons which led to the conflict—we should insist that precisely in the name of Yugoslavia, of socialism and its future, any policy which generally sets nations at odds with each other and brings into question the very historical existence of Yugoslavia should be suppressed.

We are aware that without the more rapid and effective stabilization of the situation in Kosovo it is not possible to pacify the conflicts and disagreements in intranational relations. We are witnesses to the fact that the pregnant and very complex situation in Kosovo, characterized by

the permanent aggression of Albanian nationalism and irredentism, in many ways hampers relations in the whole country and encourages confrontation and senseless conflicts.

The emergency and other measures introduced in Kosovo, the important cadre renewal in the leaderships of the LC and in other organs and institutions, and the Yugoslav program on Kosovo are still not yielding encouraging results and are not measuring up to expectations. It is clear that for various reasons the Yugoslav program on Kosovo, with the possible exception of certain parts or segments of it, is not, as a whole, being implemented. Hence the need to look at what needs to be changed in that program. We therefore suggest that the Serbian leadership should carry out a critical analysis, submit a plan for changes to the SFRY Assembly, and that conditions should be guaranteed both for support for these changes and for their implementation.

As it has done up until now, the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina will continue, in accordance with its material possibilities, to actively participate in the realization of that revised Yugoslav program on Kosovo through its unambiguous political orientations which support the struggle against Albanian separatism and nationalism, and all other nationalisms.

We have decided that the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC will clearly present its views in a separate resolution, "Democratic Development—a condition for Stable Intranational Relations", on the character and future of national relations in Yugoslavia, the character and position of Bosnia-Hercegovina in the Yugoslav Federation, and generally on the basic tasks of the LC organizations and leaderships in realizing its policies on the national question.

Durakovic explained that there are several reasons for such a decision. This is not because there is no historical alternative for the LC to the policy of national equality, but because the principles of this policy are under threat, which thereby poses a threat to Yugoslavia as an historical constitutional-legal framework in which it is possible to direct society out of the crisis and open up the historical path to the renewal of socialism.

Second, not only the principles of equality, brotherhood, and unity are under threat, but also the greatest achievements of civilization which were realized in Bosnia-Hercegovina in the preceding decades and which are the foundation for any democratic transformation and are in themselves democratic and civilizing. And finally, it is necessary to reveal the cause and nature of the present national conflicts, their proponents, and on these bases ensure the unity of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC and resolute opposition to polarizations on a national basis.

With regard to Bosnia-Hercegovina, there continue to be a number of distorted ideas and stereotypes which are also often the result of nationally tainted expectations and different appetites which dislike the clear and unambiguous Yugoslav positions of Bosnia-Hercegovina. It is worth stressing, therefore, that we will continue with our involvement in the building of relations in the federation and to advocate the orientation that we will not act from positions of any particular national program.

Bosnia-Hercegovina cannot have a place on the national map and it cannot be either a defender or protagonist of any particular national policy or position. Our republic is not, nor can it be a supranational, community, but it is also not, nor can it be a mechanical collection of introverted or opposing national entities. We are struggling for an equal and modern Bosnia-Hercegovina within a united SFRY. This is, therefore, a struggle for socialist, federal Yugoslavia, as a community of the equal, fraternal nations and nationalities which live in it, and we have no other option, nor do we wish to have, said Durakovic.

Congress Composition Reported

LD0812112189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1001 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Summary] Sarajevo, 7 Dec (TANJUG)—The composition of delegates at the 10th Congress of the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists reveals the following figures:

Of 574 delegates, 391 have been elected in the municipal LC organization while 131 are workers; the second most numerous are managers and officials. The national structure is as follows: 208 Serbs, 179 Muslims, 91 Croats, 86 Yugoslavs, 8 Montenegrins, and 2 members of other nationalities.

Neum Affair Viewed on 1st Day

AU0812173389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0300 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] The delegates to the 10th Congress of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina adopted, with 28 votes against, the report on the work of the Central Committee between the two congresses. Several delegates from Banja Luka suggested that the report should not be adopted, mostly because of the Neum affair.

Most of the first day of the congress was spent in the effort to clear up the Neum affair. About one dozen delegates demanded that all participants in the affair be expelled from the party and some insisted that all their property be confiscated.

The delegates adopted a decision according to which the new Central Committee will consist of 81 members.

The Congress continues its work today. A debate will be held on the proposed congress resolutions and members of the new Central Committee will be elected.

Congress Continues

LD0812112589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0821 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Sarajevo, 8 Dec (TANJUG)—The 10th Congress of the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists [LC] continued its work this morning in Sarajevo with a greeting speech by Ivica Racan, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

The Congress is held in difficult and dramatic times, in which our sociopolitical scene is burdened with numerous weaknesses and confrontations, which neither help nor provide good prospects for reform, Racan stressed. It is good that the work hitherto of the congress of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC manifested the obvious intention not to become reconciled with such course of events. The LC must turn to the individual, creater, communist and his abilities, Racan said.

Further on Session

LD1012083889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1034 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, Dec 8 (TANJUG)—There is no justification if the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] Central Committee does not put the serious political situation on the agenda in time and if it does not attempt to intervene politically to stop the catastrophic tide of events as soon as possible, said Ivica Racan, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, addressing delegates at the 10th Congress of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC at the start of the second day of work.

Racan stressed that Communists must tell themselves firmly that they should get down to talks, dialogue, without prior insults, disqualifications, and conditions which are imposed for such talks on the collocutors, and should stop the demands for the dismissal of this or that leadership in another republic.

Inevitably, today we must clearly seek awareness and membership of the LC as a criterion, and members of the party must offer more resolute resistance to the course of events and not surrender themselves to the atmosphere of division and conflicts.

Racan stressed that he is encouraged by the reform orientation at the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC congress as evident unwillingness to be reconciled with the dramatic worsening of the political situation, as is particularly shown by the statements of the delegates and their initiatives and insistence on issuing an appeal and demand that we should put an end to what is such a catastrophic course of events for the party and our socialist development and its prospects.

This orientation of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC is valuable to the LC at times like these and, according to Racan, necessary. There are many historical, topical, development, and I would say, existential reasons for such behavior of members of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC, for such an attitude of the people of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Ivica Racan concluded.

The congress continued its work with a report and debate on the proposed candidates for the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC central Committee, the LCY Central Committee from the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC, and the organs of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee. After a debate in which there were several dissenting views ranging from acceptance of the proposal of the nominating commission to its negation, the congress kept to its decision to have 30 percent more candidates on the lists than the number to be elected. A vote was also taken on individual proposals for changes to the lists, and among the candidates who were included in the list today is Darinka Djuraskovic, who is proposed for membership of the LCY Central Committee from the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC.

In the debate on the four proposed resolutions during the morning's work of the 10th Congress of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC about ten delegates took part, dwelling mainly on the changes to the political system and noting the different outlooks of communists today and tomorrow. Slobodan Smiljanic expressed the fear that if such a situation continues, the ranks of the LC could be thinned and its membership could leave.

If this congress and the 14th LCY Congress do not yield the anticipated results, Dragan Kragulj said, they will be reduced to routine gatherings of Communists. He questioned whether the documents guarantee a way out of the crisis and direct the activities of the LC on to the right path. In his view two questions remain open in the documents and the congress should give answers to these. This concerns our orientation that relations in the country should be organized on the principle of unity, without isolationism and intolerance, Kragulj said. We have had enough of slogans, Kragulj said, in which calls are made for AVNOJ [Anti- Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Yugoslavia, but behind these there are various interpretations and self-styled arrangements. Kragulj considers that the LC is only one of the political organizations and that all political organizations should be placed in the same position. Hence his call for a multiparty system because, as he said, the LC has no other choice and any other orientations would be for the preservation of its monopoly.

Mico Carevic called for changes in the political system and the creation of a modern state, the more so, he said, because the present system is bankrupt. In his view, for the creation of a modern state, it is essential to have institutions which can combine decentralization and integration. People have had enough of mindless groups and individuals, and the congress should clearly come out with a stand on the kind of Yugoslavia we want. Carevic proposed that the resolution should provide for the right of citizens to freely associate in political organizations. [passage omitted]

The congress endorsed the proposal of a group of delegates that a stand should be taken on the fundamental principles contained in the declaration of the Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Bosnia-Hercegovina on the realization of constitutional and legal conditions for the attainment of the freedoms and rights to the political association and organization of citizens. The delegates also proposed that the 10th congress should call for the creation of conditions for direct elections in the republic.

During the noon recess, the delegates to the 10th Congress of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC will vote for a new central committee and candidates for membership of the LCY Central Committee from the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC. [passage omitted]

As the end of the second working day of the 10th Congress of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC, delegates elected a new Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee of 81 members, and 20 candidates for membership of the LCY Central Committee.

The newly elected members of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee include Dr Nijaz Durakovic, who recived 418 votes, and Dr Dzemal Sokolivic who obtained 379 votes. However, the third candidate for president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium, Smajo Beslija, failed to obtain a sufficient number of votes for election to the Central Committee.

The congress resumes its work tomorrow [9 December] with a consideration of the report on the election of members to other organs of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC and a debate on the resolutions.

3d-Day Session

LD1112204189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0919 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 9 Dec (TANJUG)—The congress of Bosnia-Hercegovina communists resumed its work in Sarajevo this morning with the adoption of the report of the electoral commission, which summed up the results of the elections for the new Central Committee of the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists [LC] and members of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee from the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC.

The following have been elected as members of the LCY Central Committee from the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC: Mijo Maros, Zarko Primorac, Zivko Radisic, Dragan Kalinic, Alija Behmen, Brankar Farac, Omer Filipovic, Dara Ikonic, Filip Vukovic, dzevad Tasic, Nada Radulovic, Goran Kosoric, Halil Dizdar, resad Zuitic, Esef Mehanovic, Enisa Ridjanovic, Milos Jelic, Sena Salkanovic, Bogdan Kolar, Aleksandar Remetic.

Candidates not elected were: Izet Mehinagic, Muzafer Mujic, Nijaz Skenderagic, Darinka Djuraskovic, Dragomir Kaurin, Ibrahim Topic and Salim Ibrahimefendic. Of a total of 537 ballot papers, 532 were valid and 5 invalid.

The following have been elected to the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee: Rusmir Agacevic, Dragan Banjac, Krstan Malesevic, Gojko Pantic, Emina Keco, Dragutin Basovic, Nijaz Durakovic, Martin Mikic, Ivan Jurisic, Nadja Pasic, Senad Bijedic, Meho Basic, Goran Ajanovic, Mato Djukic, Dragan Kragulj, Zlatko Lagumdzija, Milivoje Jotanovic, Ante Bazina, Nada Djakovic, Suljo Handzic, Kasim Curtovic, Miro Lazovic, Dzevad Osmancevic, Kerim Dizdar, Karlo Filipovic, Biljana Smajovic, Krsto Stjepanovic, Zarko Petrovic, Aleksa Celkic, Mustafa Golic, Bozo Markovic, Branislav Grkavac, Hatidza Sisic, Mira Sladoje, Zoran Erkovic, Juraj Martinovic, Refik Bradaric, Cedo Mandic, Ljiljana todorovic, Borka Pesut, Dzemal Sokolovic, Ivo Komsic, Jure Galic, Hasan Nurkic, Mustafa Fejzic, Meho Lepara, Umihana Sofic, Jovan Sarac, Marko Zirojevic, Radenko Popic, Vojislav Popadic, Hamdo Barucija, Nikola Rozic, Desimir Kovac, Adnan Gromic, Jadranko Hadzisejdic, Hamdija Caluk, Mirko Karac, Milorad Bodroza, Rajko Kuzmanovic, Muharem Prcic, Stojan Vukovic, Mirjana Ugljen, Muhidin Hamamdzic, Slavko Kopuz, Milena Milosevic, Salih Jusic, Fikret Hasanovic, Zvonko Nikolic, Nikola Stojanovic, slobodanka Vujovic, Bozo Jovicic, Miomir tausan, Zdravko Radmanovic, Halem Kadic, Zulejha Terzic, Mahmut Cimic, Dragoljub Mucibabic, Sadija Atic, Fadil Salihbasic, Mirsada Djapo.

This morning, their 3d day of work, the delegates of the 10th Congress of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC continued their debate on the congress resolutions.

[passage omitted]

Karabegovic stressed that some of the media were systematically creating a feeling of fear among the muslims and Croats of some sort of nationalist and cetnik forces from Serbia, something that understandably exercises a negative influence upon relations between the Serbs on one side, and the Muslims and Croats on the other. This is being incited by some journalists of VJESNIK and DANAS, and recently some journalists of AS, OSLOBODJENJE, and NASI DANI have also been writing in this way. This suspicion of the people of Serbia is filling the souls of the Muslims in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and it creates uncertainty and perplexity among them and the Croats as well.

Osman Karabegovic then went on to say that the people should be told clearly that in Serbia a great democratic movement, one headed by communists, is operating, and that such a democratic movement could not be anti-Muslim and anti-Croat, the more so since in Serbia, beside the Serbian nation, there live in equality other nations and nationalities, including Muslims.

Karabegovic said that some newspapers' reporting polluted the political environment. He asked why Bosnia-Hercegovina's leadership did not dissociate itself from this kind of reporting. [passage omitted]

Filip Ujevic pointed out how several years ago, Slobodan Milosevic had bravely stood up for the Serbs and Montengrins in Kosovo, defending them from the bloodthirsty Albanian nationalism. Ujevic also asked why Milosevic did not stand up in the same resolute way to the Serbian nationalists and caution them that they should not entice anyone into quarrels in this country, in Tito's Yugoslavia. "Comrade Slobodan, you lacked historical sensitivity to get high and, alas, you had such a fine opportunity. Perhaps all of us in this country would have accepted you as our leader and no one in Yugoslavia would be irritated by that, but you did not grab the chance." [passage omitted]

At the joint initiative of 14 delegates, the congress concluded that the communists should be placed under the obligation—in accordance with the resolution "Toward the Democratization of Society and the Reform of the Political System"—of starting to create legal and constitutional conditions for the implementation of the freedoms and rights of political association and organization.

The proposal was also adopted that an appeal should be send to the Socialist Alliance of Working People and the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina—in accordance with the resolution—calling on it to advocate creating legal conditions for having the next elections in Bosnia-Hercegovina organized as free elections, with a secret ballot, and on the basis of the general, equal,and direct right of vote.

Continuing their work late in the evening, delegates were very critical of the reports of the editorial group, because it failed to accept many of the proposed amendments. After a 3-hour debate, the congress obliged the working group to restudy the amendments relating to the positin of education, the undeveloped regions, the status of social ownership, and the participation of Bosnia-Hercegovina in Yugoslav projects, and to inform the congress about their fate. Dr Ivan Cvitkovic, presiding at the evening session, informed the congress that in the meantime the statutory commission and the supervisory commission had been constituted. Dragica Sipka was elected as chairman of the statutory commission and Sabaheta Sadikovic as chairman of the supervisory commission.

In the hours leading up to midnight, the delegates turned to resolutions. In connection with the adoption of a so-called ecological resolution, the 10th congress of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC concluded that it propose to the 14th LCY Congress that this highest organ of the LCY also adopt a similar resolution.

The 3-day work of the 10th congress of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC should, according to what was envisaged, end today. However, it is uncertain whether this will be achieved, because the turn has not yet come for the report of the working group which should propose measures of ideopolitical responsibility for those involved in the Neum affair, something in which great interest prevails.

A significant reduction in membership fees and their reduction to 1 percent of personal income, the reduction of the LC administration, and within this framework the abolition of the university and city committees, as well as the republican edition of KOMUNIST, were only some of the proposals made around midnight at the 10th Congress of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC in connection with the consideration of changes and additions to the statute of this republican organization. The fact that in the republican LC there are no delegates from virtually any other municipality—something which made it possible for Sarajevo's Centar municipality, for example, to have seven LC members—was criticised. the qustion was also raised as to why there had been neglect of a proposal in the debate that a moral codex of the LC be defined, and doubts were expressed of the justification of organizing the LC on a working principle.

Continuing its work, the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee approved modified resolutions. [passage omitted]

The congress, by a majority vote, then adopted the proposed changes and additions to the statute of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee.

Having adopted the remaining congress documents, delegates to the 10th Congress of Bosnia-Hercegovina LC began, in the early hours of the morning, to consider a working group report on the ideopolitical responsibility measures proposed for those involved in the Neum affair. The working group proposed that disciplinary responsibility measures meted out so far on the following high-ranking officials: Kazimir Jelcic; Alija Latic; Jerko Bradvica; Nedeljko Mandic; Izet Brkovic; Mato Andric; Milanko Rebnovica; Hrvoje Istuk; Nikola Stojanovic; Avdo Campara; and Savo Cecur should be replaced by the disciplinary measure of expulsion from the LC, and that the republic's assembly should insist on society being compensated for, because these people misused their functions to enrich themselves.

Since, under the statute, the congress has no power to mete out ideopolitical measures, it was decided that as a way out of the present situation the 10th congress should recommend that the basic LC organizations and municipal LC committees with links with the above officials review their previous disciplinary measures, and replace them with the measures recommended earlier by the congress working group. A deadline of 30 days was given for carrying out this task. At the same time it was decided that at the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress, Bosnia-Hercegovina LC would launch an initiative for the federal statute to allow congresses of republican LC's to mete out ideopolitical responsibility measures.

Continuing its work, the congress appealed to the forces of common sense, in light of the present complex situation in society, to take more courageous steps against the forces of regress.

Continuing their work, delegates endorsed a proposal by the Central Committee, and abolished the ideopolitical measure of expulsion for Cedo Kapor, prominent revolutionary and Spanish Civil War veteran. His membership in the LC has also been restored. In 1974 Cedo Kapor was expelled from the LC for his criticism of the policy of the then leadership in the republic, but by his activity in the subsequent period he showed and proved his prinicpled stand as a communist and revolutionary. Delegates greeted this decision with applause.

Following this decision the delegates were addressed by Nijaz Durakovic, president of the Central Committee, who emphasized the high degree of maturity and awareness, and the sense of responsibility, displayed by both the congress and the party grassroots during the preparations for the congress. He expressed optimism and the belief that, as before, the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC would make its appropriate contribution to the efforts to consolidate brotherhood and unity and socialist togetherness in the country, and would determinedly counter all destructive and disintegrational tendencies. This calls for not just full mobilization of members and organizations, but also for greater ideological awareness and improved methods of activity.

These remarks by the president of Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee ended the 10th congress of the republic's Communists, which was scheduled to last 3 days, but ended in the early hours of 10 December.

President Elected

LD1112104189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1542 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Sarajevo, 8 Dec (TANJUG)—At its first session today the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists [LC] Central Committee elected Nijaz Durakovic President of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee.

Of the 81 members elected to the new Central Committee, 75 attended the session. Nijaz Durakovic won 57 votes and the second candidate, Dzemal Sokolovic, won 18 votes.

The statutory commission (President Dragica Sipka) and Monitoring Commission of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee (President Sabeta Sadikovic), were also constituted today.

Presidium Elected

LD1112104289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1934 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Sarajevo, 8 Dec (TANJUG)—The Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists [LC] Central Committee elected its Presidium tonight. The 75 members of the Central Committee who voted granted their trust to: Emina Keco (71 votes), Kerim Dizdar (70), Meho Basic (70), Krstan Malesevic (67), Dragan Kragulj (66), Krsto Stjepanovic (66), Ivo Komsic (64), Karlo Filipovic (63), Nikola Stojanovic (62), Zlatko Lagumidzija (60), and Miomira Tausan (60). Dzemal Sokolovic with 53 and Zoran Perkovic with 43 votes were not elected to the Presidium. The President of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee and the President of the Sarajevo LC City Committee are ex officio members of the Presidium.